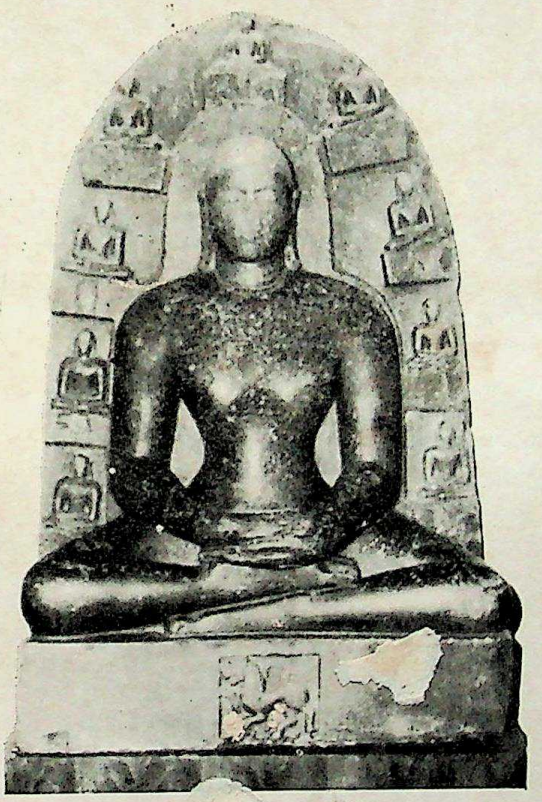
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ISSN 0030-5324

journal of the oriental institute

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

(Refer to Shri G. V. Ramakrishana Rao's Article)



Mahāvīra and Tīrthaṅkaras

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्

Edited by
R. T. VYAS
DIRECTOR,
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Institute
BARODA

Vol. XXXVII] September-December 1987 [Nos 1-2

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CONTENTS

Doctrine of Karma and "Hindu" Mythology—Y. KRISHAN 1

On the Purāṇic Nature of the Viṣṇu Smṛti—GREG BAILEY 21

A Critique of the Terminological Aspects of the Arthaśāstra—D. D. SHARMA 35

A Brief Conspectus of Studies on Tun-Huang Transformation Texts—VICTOR H. MAIR 47

Śiṣyahitaiṣiṇī A Jaina Commentary on Meghadūta—SATYA VRAT 55

The Śīghrasiddhi of Lakṣmīdhara—DAVID PINGREE 65

Contribution of Aṣṭachāpa Poets to the North Indian Music—C. J. NAYAK 83

Utsavanirṇayamañjarī—A Rare and Unpublished Work of Gaṅgādhara, A Scholar form Gujarat—M. L. WADEKAR 89

Contemporary Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Gujarat—DEVDATTA JOSHI 127

Ecology, Technology and Socio-Cultural Change in the Middle Palaeolithic Afghanistan—V. C. SRIVASTAVA 143

A Unique Sculpture of Mahavira in Birla Museum—G. V. RAMAKRISHNA RAO 153

The Distribution Pattern in A Megalithic Burial Field—N. C. GHOSH 157

Lapkaman Copper Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, (Kalacuri) Saṁ. 345—PRAVINCHANDRA C. PARIKH AND BHARATI K. SHELAT 163

Jñānakriyāvādaḥ—A Rare and Unpublished Kalahakāvya by Mayāchandra—SIDDHARTH YESHWANT WAKANKAR 169

Select Contents of Oriental Journals—P. H. JOSHI 173

Reviews— 181

Acknowledgements— 189

चेतोविनोदनकाव्यम्— 17-32

Printed by Shri P. N. Shrivastava, Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda, and Edited and Published by Dr. R. T. Vyas, Director, Oriental Institute, on behalf of the M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara-390 002, January, 1989.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 1 - 2
Sept. - Dec. 1987

DOCTRINE OF *KARMA* & "HINDU" MYTHOLOGY

By
Y. KRISHAN*

The doctrine of *Karma* had a profound and far reaching impact on "Hindu" mythology. This is evident in evolution of cosmogony and cosmology.

Cosmogony.

The *Ṛgveda* (*RV*) contains many hymns describing the creation of the universe; the most well known being the *Puruṣa-sūkta RV* X.90, the *Hiraṇyagarbha-sūkta RV* X. 121 and the *Nāsadīya-sūkta RV* X. 129. The most significant point to be noted is that in these *mantras*, except the *Nāsadiya-sūkta*, the *RV.* identifies the causative force or causation with a supreme Creator. According to *RV* X. 72 the Brahmaṇaspati causes the birth of *devas*, the trees and the earth; *RV* X. 81 makes Viśvakarman as the Creator of the world (*bhūmi*) from the forest and trees, *prakṛti*, *RV.* X. 90 (the *Puruṣasūkta*) makes *puruṣa* the supreme Creator or the most important element in creation. The gods performed sacrifice with the *Puruṣa* (thousand headed, thousand eyed, thousand footed who covers the earth on all sides, who is immortal) and thereby created the seasons, birds and animals and human beings, the sun & the moon & fire, air and the entire world. The *Atharvaveda* (*AV*) XIX. 6 and the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (*VS*) 31 have more

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept. December, 1987 issue, pp. 1-20.

* D 12, Anand Niketan, New Delhi 110 021.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

or less similar *mantras*. The *RV*. X 121 describes the coming into existence of a golden egg, *hiraṇyagarbha*, which produces animate and inanimate world, the life force, gods. The *RV*. X. 129. describes creation as an impersonal void, undifferentiated or signless one (*apraketam*), a single (*tadekam*) life force, that which breathed (*ānītam*) without air (*avātam*) and was without a second and which was neither non-existent (*asat*) nor existent (*sat*), Creation arises from this indescribable life force through *tapas* (austerity, heat or work) and *Kāma* (desire).

The significant point to be noted is that none of the creation hymns refer to *karma* as a causative factor. In the cosmogonic myths, in the Epics and in the *Purāṇas*, *Karma* becomes a major factor in the creative process.

The *Mahābhārata*[1] (*Mbh*) 12. 248 and 249 narrate that Brahmā created beings indiscriminately. This leads to a population explosion, unbearable overcrowding. Brahmā, thereupon, destroys beings indiscriminately, to reduce the overpopulation. Śiva intercedes with Brahmā and requests him to destroy in a regulated or controlled manner. For this purpose he begs him to make all beings subject to rebirth *avṛttijā prajāḥ*. Brahmā then created birth and death (*pravṛtti* and *nirvṛti*) in the form of a woman and called it Death. In the *Mbh* 122.50.3-4 the Death insists that she would act according to *Dharma* (righteousness) and was afraid of the *adharma* and that she will not take the life (*na hareyama nāgasaḥ* of innocent children, old men and persons in the prime of life. She undertakes to destroy living beings impartially (*nirmohya hanti*) but not indiscriminately *Mbh* 12.250.36.

Mbh 12.224.47 states :

> *teṣām ye yāni Karmāṇi prāksṛṣṭyām pratipedire /*
> *tānyeva pratipadyante sṛjyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ*[2] //

Whatever action a being had done in the previous creation, those *Karmas* indeed are experienced whenever the creation takes place again and again

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* II. 5.34 speaks of three factors as responsible for creation of new life, *Kāla*, Time, *Karma*, and *Svabhāva* (innate qualities). The *Bhāgavata* II.10.40 emphasises that all the beings of the world, in all their diversity, are the result of their good and evil *Karma*, *Kuśalākuśala misrāḥ Karmaṇām gatayastrividhā*. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 1.5.28 it is explicitly stated that "although all creatures are destroyed at the periods of dissolution, yet beings affected by the good and evil acts of former existence, they are never exempted from their consequences. *Karmabhi bhāvitāḥ pūrvai Kuśalā-Kuśalaistu tāḥ*. Thus whatever

---

1 All references to the Critical ed. of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* except where stated otherwise.

2 *Viṣṇupurāṇa* I. 5.61 is a variant of this verse.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Kuśalākuśala Karma they (the beings) had achieved in a former creation, they received when they were created again and again, harmful or benign, gentle or cruel, full of *dharma* or *adharma*, truth or falsehood. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* XLVIII. 2 creatures are impregnated with the good (*kuśala*) and bad (*akuśala*) actions of previous existence : created beings are not dilivered from the consequences of their actions even at the time of dissolution of the universe[3]. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.7. 35-43 repeats that the good and evil deeds are not annihilated at the dissolution of the cosmos and mature in the subsequent creations.

The *Brahmajālasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* 1.2 2-3 envisages the passing away of the world system and beings subsisting in the world of Radiance re-evolving of the world system (*loko vivattati*) and some being or other coming to life in the palace of Brahmā either because his span of years or his merit is exhausted (*āyukkhayā* or *punnakkhayā*) Thus *puṇya karmas* have a role to play in evolution.

Cosmology.

The impact of the doctrine of *Karma* is to be seen in certain specific cosmological concepts of the *Vedic*, the Epic and *Paurāṇic* cosmology : gods, demons (*asuras*), heaven and hell.

Gods in the *Vedas* & Epics :

In the *Vedas* the gods and the mortal creation including human beings belong to different species : the gods are denizens of the *devaloka*,[4] human being are denizens of *bhūloka*, *devaloka* is *divyaloka*, world of light, *svargaloka*, *bhūloka* or the teriestrial sphere is a region both of light and darkness.

Another distinguishing feature of gods, as compared to human beings, is that the gods are immortal[5] (*amṛta*) whereas human beings and other earthly creation belong to *martyaloka* denizens of the world of mortality. The gods play a role in creation as " agents " in the construction of the world;[6] they support or establish[7] heaven and earth.

---

3 It is true that in the *Matsyapurāṇa* IV. 6 it is said that the actions or inactions of gods do not produce good and evil consequences, that is, they are amoral. This was said by Viṣṇu in reply to Manu's question whether Brahmā was guilty of the sin of incest. It was a dogmatic, though feeble, attempt to maintain the authority of the *Vedas* and an ambivalent effort to by-pass the law of *Karma* without repudiating it.

4 Macdonell, A. A. : *Vedic Mythology*, Delhi, 1971 (reprint) pp. 8, 9.

5 Macdonell : *ibid;* p. 28, p. 12

6 Macdonell : *ibid*; p. 11

7 Macdonell : *ibid;* p. 15

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*S.B.*) treats gods and human beings as belonging to two different and distinct categories. According to *S.B.* I. 2.5.17 the East is the direction (*dig*) of the gods, the West is the direction of the human beings, the South is the direction of the *pitṛs*. Again according to the *S.B.* II. 1.3. 1-3, spring, summer and rainy seasons belong to the gods, autumn, winter and dewy seasons belong to the fathers, the bright half of the lunar month (*śukla pakṣa*) belongs to the gods, the dark half (*Kṛṣṇa pakṣa*) belongs to the fathers; the day belongs to the gods, the night belongs to the fathers. The *S.B.* VII. 4.2. 40 makes it clear that the *devas* and human beings belong to two (different) *yonis*, forms of birth.

Pitṛs[8] are human beings raised to divinity; the human beings after death, go to *pitṛloka*. Within the *divyaloka*, *devas* and *pitṛs* live in different *lokas*: *devas* live in *svargaloka*; *pitṛs* in *pitṛloka*. The *devas* or gods move on the path called *devayāna* whereas the souls of deceased human beings travel via *pitṛyāna*, the path of forefathers; *svargaloka* is located in the north and *pitṛloka* in the south. The *pitṛloka* is ruled by *Yamarāja*, the first of the mortals, who becames a *Vedic* god. The *pitṛs* and *devas*, however, maintain their distinct identity. The gods are fed through *svāhā* sacrifices in fire (*agni*), the *pitṛs* are fed through offering (*svadhā*) *RV*. X. 14.3. Men perform *yajñas* to propitiate the gods and the performance of *yajña* and charitable public welfare works enable men to accumulate *iṣṭāpūrta* which they enjoy as *pitṛs* in *yamaloka* or *pitṛloka*,[9] *RV*. X. 14.8. But like the gods, the *pitṛs* are also invoked to bestow on their descendants long life, wealth and children, to excuse their descendants from punishment for inadvertent sins or lapses. *RV*. X 14.11 and X. 15.

The *Vedic* gods lack in the morality that comes to be the standard moral code in the *smṛtis*. Thus the Vedic deities like Agni, Sūrya, Indra are all guilty of killing their parents, one of the *mahāpātakas*.

The *Brāhmaṇas* first undermine the supermacy of the *Vedic* gods by making *yajña karma*, sacrifice, as of supreme importance in achieving human goals. In fact the gods can be compelled to do anything through the correct performance of the *yajñas*. "The sacrifice is regarded as the means of obtaining power over this and other world, over visible as well as invisible beings, animate as well as inanimate creatures. Who knows its proper application and has it duly performed, is, in fact, looked upon as the real master of the world, for any desire he may entertain, if it be even the most ambitious, can be gratified; any object

---

8 Hopkins ,E. W. : *Epic Mythology*, Delhi, 1974 (reprint) p. 56.

9 Macdonell : *ibid*; p. 168, Hopkins E.W. *Religions of India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1970 p. 128

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

he has in view can be obtained by means of it[10] " According to *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[11] II. 329-31, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* III. 10.8.2 and *S.B.* XIII 5.1.2 it is through sacrifice that the gods defeat death and free themselves from Yama's fetters. The gods who subsist on oblations, become the instruments of *yajñas* and the performers of *yajñas*, the *brāhmaṇas* as *purohitas*, religious preceptors, become *manuṣya deva* as distinct from *Vedic devas*, *S.B* II. 2.2.6. In fact there arises the new concept of *Karmaṇā devatvamabhisampadyante te karma devaḥ*; they who attain the abode of the *devas* through *Karmas*, (which in the context of the *Brāhmaṇas* means *śrauta* and *yajña karma* like fireworship) are called *Karma devas*. Mahīdhara[12] in his commentary on the *V.S* 31.17 says that there are two kinds of gods : *Karma devāḥ* (gods by *Karma*) and *ajānadevāḥ* (gods by birth). *Karma devas* attain the condition of *deva* by their eminent works whereas *ajānadevāḥ* were *devas* from the beginning of creation.

Thus the human beings acquire the potentiality of attaining godhead, the status of gods is reduced to that of guardians of the cardinal directions, or quarters, *dikpāla*. Thus in the *S.B.*I. 2.5.17. East is the direction (*dik*) of the gods, north is the direction of men, and south is the direction of the deceased ancestors. The *S.B* records a significant shift in the position of the gods as compared to that of human beings.

In the *Upaniṣads* the position or the character of the gods is eroded still further. They make *Brahman* and *ātman* as the supreme reality and the entire world, gods, men and other beings and inanimate things as the creation of *Brahman*. *Chāndogya Up* VI. 8.7, VI. 9. 1-4, VI. 10. 1-2 and *Muṇḍaka Up* II. 1. 1-9.

The *Kena up* III. 5-10 emphasises the powerlessness of gods like Agni to burn and of Vāyu to blow away when divorced from *Brahman* (*Yakṣa*). The mighty Indra could not even have the opportunity of even meeting *Brahman* when he wanted to, *ibid* III. ii. The *Aitareya Up* I. ii, i says that the *devatās* like Agni (fire), Vāyu (air), the Sun and the Moon, Death etc. were created (*devatāḥ sṛṣṭā*) by the Supreme Being. So are human being created. In other words the gods are no longer self-existent.

---

10 Haug, Martin : (tr.) *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. See Introduction explaining the principal sacrificial and theological ideas which pervaded this *Brāhmaṇa* 737.

11 *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of performing the *Daśarātra* and *Viśvajit* sacrifices.

12 Cited by J. Muir : *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Oriental Publishers and Distibutors, New Delhi, 1976, Part V, pp. 17-18.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka up* (*Bṛhad Up*) 3.9.1 describes the number of gods as varying from 1 to 3003. It avers that really there are three gods and the rest are their manifestation : *Bṛhad up* 3.9.2. Even the thirty three gods are symbolic of natural phenomena and elements such as earth, fire, air, sky, sun, heaven, moon, stars etc., the months, the organs in man and the mind : *Bṛhad up* 3.9. 3-6. In the *Taittīrya up* II. viii. 1-4 and the *Bṛhad up* 4.3.3.3 it is explained that the mortals and gods differ only in the relative magnitude of the joy they experience, if human beings' joy is deemed to be one unit, the joy experienced by a *deva* is billion times more. But there is no generic difference between men and *devas*. In fact the *Bṛhad up* I. 4 10. proclaims : *ya anyām devatāmupāsate, anyo asāvanyo ahamasmiti, na sa veda :* he who adores another god thinking. " He is defferent from me and I am different from him, does not know. " " It has been said with a good deal of truth that in the *Vedic* hymns man fears the gods; in the *Brāhmaṇas* man subdues the gods and identifies himself with the gods; in the *Upaniṣads* man ignores the gods and identifies himself as the god. " [13]

This position was reached partly because *upaniṣadic* pantheon reduced the gods to the status of men. But the doctrine of *Karma* also contributed to the decline in the status of god. The *Karmas* determine a soul's *gati* or future existence and good *karmas* elevate the soul of a being to the state of happiness, that is, of a *deva* and evil *Karmas* degrade a being to the states of retribution. The *upaniṣads* teach that the gods come into being due to their good *karmas* and after they are exhausted, they continue their rounds in *saṃsāra*. Henceforward the life of gods is not that of eternal blissful existence in heaven : their span of life in the *divyaloka* is limited. In fact *svarga* or *divyaloka* becomes one of the many states of existence in which souls are born depending on the quality of their *karmas*.

The *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) 14.6. 14 emphasises, " The *nakṣatras*, the three and thirty (gods), *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, moon and sun and Vāyu (wind god) all got to go ahead from the human state through manly action : [14] *sarvam puruṣakâreṇa manuṣyād gataḥ*. The *Mbh* 8.2.4.3 narrates, " In reply to the request from the three sons of Tārakā for the boon that they could not be slain by any creature, Brahmā Pitāmaha explains : *nāsti sarvāmartva* there is no immortality for all. " In other words, no one is free from death. In *Mbh*. 12.2 50.38 it is asserted : *sarve mānavaḥ prāṇānte gatvā sa devavat :* all beings after death become god like (depending on their *Karmas*). Again *Mbh* 12.250. 40. is unambiguous *sarve devamartya sanjña-viśiṣṭaḥ sarve martyo devasanjña- viśiṣṭaḥ*. On exhaustion of

---

13 Macdonald, K. S. : *The Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas*. Delhi, 1979 (reprint), p. 102.

14 Hopkins : *ibib;* p. 69

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Karmas all *devas* become human beings; and all human beings become gods (due to their past *karmas*).

The *Mahābhārata* 1.189 narrates a significant story. Once Yama was engaged in performing a *yajñā* in the Naimiṣa forest. In consequence he neglected the duty of terminating life, that is, of causing death of living beings. In consequence the living beings multiplied manifold. This alarmed the gods who rushed to Brahmā for help. Brahmā asked the gods as to why they, who are immortal, should be afraid of men, who are mortal. The gods replied that mortals had now become immortal (*martyā hymartyāḥ samvṛtā na viśeṣo asti* 1. 189.6) and hence there was no difference between gods and livings beings: they were now equal and hence they needed Brahmā's help. This was an attempt to explain the elimination of the essential difference between gods and men : it was in truth, the *Karma* doctrine which had reduced godhead to a form of existence in the cycle of birth and death.

There is even evidence in epic mythology that gods become afraid of the merit, good *Karmas*. Hopkins [15] points out that the gods live in fear of man partly because of physical reasons and partly on moral grounds. The gods are dependent on the oblations made by men without which they will be wretched; again the divinity of an epic hero fills the *devas* with fear, *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.23 26f etc. Again a god lives in fear of some mortal gaining merit enough to oust him from his place (*Mbh* (Bombay ed) 3.193. 23); gods become alarmed that creatures full of *dharma* "would become gods by themselves". Thus Indra [16] recognises that merit stored up by an ascetic may become equal to or greater than his own posing a threat to his divine rulership. Hence he always seeks to meet the situation, not by cultivating virtue more rigorously but by seducing his possible rival to deviate from the path of virtue. Rambhā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.63. 1, Menakā in the *Mahābhārata* 1.65. 25 are employed to seduce Viśvāmitra so that he loses the merit acquired through intense austerities. Thus human beings become deified and attain heaven through good deeds ; *prāptaḥ puṇyaih svakarmabhiḥ Mbh*. 12.21. 19. Again when a person does not conduct himself sinfully towards any creature in thought, word or deed then he is said to attain or become Brahma : *Yadā na kurute dhīraḥ sarvabhūteṣu pāpakam/karmaṇā manasā vācā, Brahma sampadyate tathā, Mbh* 12.68. 44. It is further relevant to mention that in the *Ram* 1.17.6, 8 and 9, Rāma and his three brothers are described as the *aṁśāvatāra*, partial incarnation of Viṣṇu; in the *Mbh* 1.61. 84-85, the Pāṇḍavas

---

15 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 58

16 Hopkins p. 138. As Hopkins puts it "Indra is always afraid of too much formal virtue." See also *Bhāgavata Pu* 11-4, 6-11. It is anomolous that Indra should lose his status even if he does no wrong if someone else accumulate excessive merit of high quality.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

are also partial divine incarnations ; Yudhiṣṭhira of Dharma, Bhīma of Vāyu (Wind), Arjuna of Indra, Nakula and Sahadeva of Āświns.

In Buddhistic[17] narrative, the excellence of a very virtuous person makes hot the throne of Indra " so that the god grows uncomfortable as if sitting on a hot stove ". That there is no generic difference between gods and men seems to be the true import of Aśoka's Minor Edicts Rupnath & Gujarra in which Aśoka says : The gods, who were unmingled or unassociated (*amissa*) with the people inhabiting *jambudvīpa* during the ages down to the present time have now been made by me mingle or associate with them : *yā imāya kālāya jambudipassi amissā deva husu te dāni missā katā.* "

It is significant that these edicts add that the great heaven is accessible not only to persons of superme position but also to poor man provided he is zealous in the cause of the *dharma*. In other words, heaven was not the monopoly of the rich who had the means to perform expensive *yajñas* but also to ordinary folk by virtue of their conduct.

Demons (*Asuras*) in the *Vedas* and Epics.

Pari passu the influence of the doctrine of *Karma* can be seen. In the *Mbh* 12.221.26-79 it is said that the *asuras* were originally truthful and righteous. They knew the *dharma* and performed sacrifices and possessed many other virtues. So Śrī, the goddess of prosperity, dwelt with them from the beginning of the world. But they fell and become evil beings when they became proud, vain; quarrelsome and shameless, infringed the *dharma* neglected sacrifices, did not go to *tīrthas* to cleanse themselves from sin.

This concept of *asuras* in the Epics may be constrated with the *Vedic* concept of *asuras*. In *Vedic* mythology, the *asuras*[18] (demons) are celestial beings opposed to the gods (*devas*). Indra typifies *Vedic* god and Vṛtra *Vedic* demon. But in epic mythology, fear terror, (*bhaya*) destruction, are identified as *rākṣasas*.[19] *Brahmarākṣas*[20] are traced to absence of religious teaching, evil acts or sexual faults, the *piśācas* typify cruelty[21] and *Krodha*,[22] *Harivaṁsa* III. 14.62 (Bombay ed) incorporates *piśācas* into Brahman's creation as sons of *Krodha* : the *asuras*[23] were originally pious and moral; but pride made them

17 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 139

18 Macdonell : " Asura is throughout the *Vedic* literature the name of the celestial demons who are regarded as the regular adversaries of the gods in their mythical conflicts—*ibid;* p. 156

19 Hopkins : *ibid;* pp. 41,43

20 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 44

21 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 45

22 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 46

23 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 47

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

sinful; *Dānavas* are personification of wrath and deception etc. *Asuras* are embodiment of pride (*asura bhāva*), wrath, delusion, *mada*[24] (intoxication).[25] So Hopkins[26] sums up by asserting, "when good, a god, when destructive a demon". The quality of godliness depends upon the qualities and character of an individual.

Thus we find that in the *Mahābhārata, asuras* become demons by a process of degradation.

In fact, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* bear evidence that the *Vedic* distinction between *devas* and *asuras* as distinct and mutually exclusive and genetically different categories was getting blurred. *Mbh* 12.291.46-47 is quite explicit.

tāmasā nirayam yānti rājasā mānuṣāmstathā |
sāttvikā devalokāya gacchanti sukhabhāginaḥ ||
niṣkaivalyena pāpena tiryagyonimavāpnuyāt
puṇyapāpena mānuṣyam puṇyenaikena devatāḥ.

Those who have *tāmasic* tendency go to hell, persons of *rājasic* temperament become human beings, those who observe *sāttvic* discipline go to heaven and share enjoyment or happiness. Those who commit unmitigated evil, become animals; those who do both good and evil become human beings, and those who do only good become gods.

Manusmṛti XII. 39 ff describes the various *gatis* (froms of existence) a being obtains with reference to his *guṇas. Manu*[27] XII. 40 repeats what is stated in the *Mbh :* the *sāttvika* beings become *devas, rājasic* beings become human beings and *tāmasic* beings become animals and plants. In subsequent verses Manu describes the various forms of embodiments—lowest (*jaghanya*), middling (*madhyama*) and the highest or best (*uttama*) in the various forms of existence from lifeless objects and vermin to Brahmā, the Creator and ascribes the same as the results of *Karmas.* So Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhad Up* 5.2.3 recognises that there is no essential difference between gods (*devas*), human beings (*manuṣyas*), and demons (*asuras*); *na devā asurā vā nye kecana vidyante manuṣyebhyah :* there are no gods or *asuras* other than men; *uttamair guṇais sampannāḥ te devāḥ; lobhapradhānā manuṣyaḥ :* those who are greedy are human beings; and *himsāparāḥ krurāḥ asurāḥ* demons are those who cause injury to others and are cruel.

---

24 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 48

25 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 50

26 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 52

27 *Devatvam sāttvikā yānti manuṣyatvam ca rājasāḥ Tiryaktvam tamasā nityamityeṣā trividhā gatiḥ*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

This also explains the fact that the number of gods in Epics become incalculable as against 33 of the *Vedic* gods. *Devas* are now counted as 33,000,[28] 3300, and 33. Because the number of gods became multiplied, they are called *devatāgaṇa*,[x29] the hosts of *devatās* including divine, angelic and demonic beings.

In other words, the *Vedic* distinction between *devas* (gods) and *asuras* (demons) now breaks down; the distinction really is based on moral traits and moral conduct and the happiness and suffering they cause. This also explains why *Mbh* 3.281. 28 describes Yama, comparatively a minor *Vedic* god, as the *deveśa* or *sureśa*, the lord of gods, a *vedic* non-god becomes the lord of the gods. This could happen when gods become subject to the law of *Karma* and the control of the *Dharmarāja*. The devaluation of gods is to be seen vividly on the post-*Vedic*[30] concept of *lokapālas* (guardians of various *lokas*, states of existence) and *dikpālas* (guardians of directions). The mightly *Ṛgvedic* gods like Indra and Varuṇa now become guardians of the cardinal directions of the East and the West. Yama, a relatively humble *Vedic* god, developes into an important god of the Hindu pantheon as guardian of the South. Thus they become the guardians or rulers of *devaloka* (Indra), of *pitṛloka*, the deceased fathers (Yama), of the *pātālaloka*, the dark world of the waters (Varuṇa).

---

28 Hopkins : *ibid*; p. 55

29 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 54

30 In the *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.16.74 four *lokapālas* with the directions of their are Indra (East), Yama (South) Varuṇa (West) and Kubera (North). In *Manusaṁhitā* V. 96 & VII. 4, eight *lokapālas* are mentioned but their directions are not identified. In the *Mbh* the position is varying (i) In *Mbh* 7.72.45; 13.159.31 only three *lokapālas* are mentioned; there is no specific direction with which they are associated except for Yama (south) and Varuṇa (west). It is in *Mbh* 8.45.31 that the cardinal directions and the associated gods are mentioned.

(ii) In *Mbh* 3.55.6 (Indra, Agni Varuṇa and Yama) and 3.41.9 (Kubera is substituted for (Agni) and 8.45.31 (Indra and Kubera are substituted by Agni and Soma), four *lokapālas* are named but their names are not identical

(iii) In *Mbh* 7.72. 45 Śatakratu and Dhaneśa belong to the group of four, the other two being Vaivasvata (Yama) and Varuṇa. Thus the concept of *lokapālas* is fluid in the epic literature.

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* II.6.42 mentions *lokapālas* of *svargaloka* (heaven), *khagaloka* (of the birds), *nṛlok* (of human beings) and *pātālaloka* (of the underworld).

According to the *Matsyapurāṇa* VIII.9-11 Brahmā made *devas*, Sudharma, Śankhapāda, Ketumāna, Hiraṇyaroma the protectors of all the directions—*sarvadiśādhināthān*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The *Purānas* carry this development in cosmology to its logical conclusion. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* III. 7.2-4 declares that the denizens of the seven *dvīpas* (islands), seven nether worlds (*pātālas*) and seven *lokas*, of all the places in the universe, are all bound by *Karmas* (*na santi prāṇino yatra Karmabandhanibandhanāḥ*). The *Garuḍapurāṇa*[31] I 113-15 proclaimed :

Karma appointed Brahmā a potter (creator) in the interior of the vessel of the universe, made Viṣṇu to undergo suffering in ten incarnations, compelled Rudra to beg alms with a skull in his hand.....

According to the *Devībhāgavata* (*DB*) the gods are all under the influence of *Karma* and experience happiness and suffering according to their *Karmas* : (*D.B.* 4.2.7 *Brahmādinām ca sarveṣām tadavaśatvam; DB* 4 2. 32-33 *Sarve Brahmādayaḥ surāḥ Kṛtakarmavipākena prāpnuvanti sukhāsukhe DB* 6.10. 17-19 *Brahmā Viṣṇustathā. Idrādyāśaca surāstathā. Dānavayakṣagandharuāḥ svarve karmavaśāḥ*).

The *Kathāsaritasägara* IX. 122-123 of Somadeva recounts that Suprabha foresaw that in seven days he would fall from heaven on account of the exhaustion of the merit and be conceived in the body of a sow.

Hopkins has argued that the *Karma* doctrine established euhemerism. It is significant that *Manu* III. 195 f refers to Agniṣvāttas and Somasads as the *pitṛs* of the *devas* (gods, and *sādhavas*). But how could gods have *pitṛs* if the gods were deemed to be immortal and not *martya*, liable to death ? This observation of Manu can be explained if it is accepted that after the adoption of the law *Karma*, gods were no longer immortal; they were liable to go up and down the scale of creation like any other beings.

Again in *Mbh* (Bombay ed.) 3.200.58 the river Puṣpodaka (Vaitaraṇī)[32] is full of pus for those who have done evil acts, but full of sweet or clear water for those who have given waters in their life times. This is also indicative of the fact that heaven and hell had no specific character of their own; heaven and hell are states arising from the character and conduct of the individual.

There are no significant differences in the Buddhist and Jaina cosmological concepts of *devas*, heaven (*sagga*) and hell (*naraka*, *niraya*).

The *devas*[33] in Buddhism are subject to birth and death and "have been men and may again become men".[X34] Their length of life depends on their

---

31 This verse is also interpolated in the *Nitiśataka* (after 87) of Bhartṛhari.

32 Sorensen, S.: *Index to The Names in the Mahābhārata*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1963 (reprint) *yama*. Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 109

33 See T. W. Phys Davids and W. Steade : *Pali English Dictionary*.

34 *The Brahmajālasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* i. 2.7 speaks of *Khiddā-padosīkā nāma devas*, gods polluted through pleasure (*hassa*), sport (*khidda*) and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

merit. The *Petavatthu*[35] I. 13 stresses that a person by doing good deeds goes to heaven (*Kusalam katvā saggam gamati*). Likewise in the *Vimānavatth*[36] it is emphasised that service rendered to others ensures happiness after death and also birth as a *deva*. The *Saṁkicca Jātaka* No. 530 (276) says : " Through virtue stored on earth of old the good to heaven attain/ Here Brahmās, Devas, Indra, lo ! ripe fruit of virtue gain. "

The *Aṅguttarantkāya*[37] i, 143-144 emphasises that even Śakra (Indra), the leader of the gods, is not released or exempt from birth, old age and death and from sorrow; hence he is inferior to an *arhat* who is emancipated, being free from passion, malice and delusion.

The *Sāmaññaphalasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* ii. 95 states that those who act righteously in body, speech, and thought are reborn in heaven (*suggam lokam*) after death. The *Saṁyuttanikāya*[38] i. 228 states that a man becomes a Sakka by observing seven vows, *vattapadāni*.[39] " In the days when Sakka, the ruler of the gods was a man " says the Buddha " he made and kept seven vows whereby he attained celestial sovereignity.

Similarly, Brahmā, who is called Sahampati in Buddhist literature, was originally a human being who rose to become an important *deva*. The *Saṁyuttanikāya* iii. 430-433 explain that at the time when Kassapa was a Buddha, Sahampati was the monk Sahaka and by the merit of his virtuous conduct he

---

sensual enjoyment (*rati*) and *manopadosika nāma devas*, gods with polluted mind due to envy, evil disposition etc. They fall from that state through exhaustion of their merit. See also *Saṁyuttanikāya* iii. 85 Devas rccoqnise *aniccā....mayam* transient are we.

35 Kennedy, Jean and Gehman, Henry S. : *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, P.T.S. London, 1942

36 Francis, H.T. (tr.). The *Jātakas* (ed.) E. B. Cowell Vol. V. Delhi, 1979. *Santo ca uddham gacchanti suciṇṇen idha kammanā suciṇṇassa phalam passa saindevā sabrahmakā.*

In *Kulāvaka Jātaka* No. 31, the *bodhisattva* by following the seven injunctions becomes Sakka, king of *devas*.

37 Woodward, F. L. (tr.) P.T.S. London 1950 Vol. I, p. 127

38 Mrs. Rhys Davids and Suriyagoda Sumangala Thera (tr.) *Saṁyuttanikāya* Vol. I, p. 293

39 The seven vows are (i) maintaining one's parents, (ii) not reviling the head of the family, (iii) eschewing slander and using gentle language, (iv) freedom from selfishness, (v) practising generousity, (vi) speaking the truth, (vii) eschewing anger. See also the story ' How Magha became Sakka ' in *Dhammapada Atthakathā* 2.5, E.W Burlingame—*Buddhist Legends*, London 1969 Pt. 2 p. 313 ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

was born as a Brahmā. In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* I. 19§ 2(b) it is said : "Just so few in number are those beings who, deceasing as men, are reborn among the *devas*.....who, deceasing as *devas* are reborn among *devas*, are reborn among men; more numerous are those beings who deceasing as *devas* are reborn in purgatory."

As Nāgārjuna in his *Suhṛllekha* (Letter to King Gautamiputra) 98 says citing *Sambharapari Kathā :* 'In whatever manner he strives still (a god) will not live long. ....'

Like the post *Vedic* gods, the Jaina gods, are all mortal. In fact the gods must take birth as human beings to be able to attain *nirvāṇa*.

The Concept of Svarga (Heaven) and Naraka (Hell).

Heaven in the *RV.*[40] IX. 113 is a place of joy and delightsi, all the desires of its inhabitants are fulfilled.

It resounds with the sound of flute and song *RV.* X. 135.7.[41] It is a place of joyful existence (*svarga u madayase*) *RV.* X. 95.18. *madanti.....madayante* .....as enjoying bliss *RV.* X. 14.10, 15.14 etc.

The life in heaven is free from imperfections, bodily frailties[42] (*RV.* X. 14.8 and *AV.* VI. 120.3). Its citizens are free from sickness or bodily defornity *AV.* III. 28.5, *AV.* VI. 120.37 *AV.*XII. 3.17. Food is in abundance; it is a land of *apasaras* and the sexual instinct is easily gratified. (*AV.* IV. 34). There are no economic disparities . ..no rich and poor, no exploiters and exploited (*AV.* III. 29.3). In short heaven is a glorified world of material joys.

Heaven is attained by those who practice *tapas* or who perform *yajñas* (sacrifices) involving payment of fee of thousands (of cows) *sahasra dakṣiṇā*. *RV.* X. 154. 1-3 or who give of gifts liberally *RV.* I. 125.5 and *RV.* X. 154-25 *Iṣṭāpūrta*, merit potential of sacrifice, enables a mortal to obtain heaven (*RV.* X. 14.8) where the soul of the deceased enjoys the benefits of *iṣṭāpūrta*.

It is significant that the character of the *purohita* (officiating priest) is irrelevant; according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 11.5 says : "The Agni oblation is that which conducts to heaven. Even if a man who is a non-Brāhmaṇa (*abrāhmaṇa*) or a person who is spoken of as evil conduct (*duruttokto*) perform it, still this oblation goes to the gods and is not polluted by the contagion of the wickedness of the performer". The *Bodhāyana dharmasūtra* IV. 8. 12. declares

---

40 *RV* IX. 113. "*Yatrānandāśca modāśca mudaḥ pramuda āsate /*
Kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmāstatra māmamrtam kṛdhīndrāyendo pari srva //
Kane : *HDS* Vol. IV p. 156 f.n. 367

41 *Imasya dhamyate nāḷīrayam gīrbhiḥ pariṣkṛta.*

42 Macdonell : *ibid*; p. 167-168.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

that those who do *puṇya* (good deeds) enjoy those pleasures on earth which are enjoyed by the *devas* in *svargaloka*. In other words human beings can attain parity with the gods through good actions.

Now heaven is to be attained not by *iṣṭāpūrta, sukaṛtaṃ;* it is achieved by avoiding moral weaknesses which lead to immoral conduct or moral lapses.

Naraka (*Hell*)

Whereas heaven *svarga loka* is an important element in Rgvedic mythology, its opposite *naraka*, hell, receives little attention. The term *naraka* does not occur in the *RV*. All that is said is there is a place of darkness, a pit. The *RV*. II. 29. 6 speaks of a prayer to the Viśvedeva's to save me (the suppliant). from the pit, from falling into it. '*trādhvam kartādavapado yajatrāḥ*.[43] *RV*. V 5.5 says that those who did not follow the *ṛta* (law) and *satya* (truth) were sinful and created a deep pit for themselves. Indra and Soma are requested in *RV*. VII. 104.3 to send the evil doers to bottamless darkness (*antarnārambhaṇe tamasi*) and no one can get out of it. In *RV*. X. 15.4 Indra is prayed to send into darkness (*gamaya tamaḥ*) whoever attacks him and his people. In *RV* IX. 73.8 Soma throws those into a pit who disregard his ordinances.

It is the *V.S.* XXX. 3 and *AV*. XII. 4.35 which use the term *naraka*. It is the abode of sorcerers and demons (*AV*.II.14.3, *AV*.V. 19.3) *AV*. also describes it as 'lowest darkness' *AV*.VIII. 2.24 etc., black darkness (*AV*. V. 30.11) blind darkness (*AV*. V. 19). It is not clearly described as the abode of souls consigned to hell in contradistinction to heaven.

Again in the *VS*. XXX. 5 only the person who neglects or extinguishes the consecrated *Vedic* fires *vīrahan*, goes to hell *nārakāya vīrahaṇam*. In other words hell (*naraka*) at this stage, is not a place of punishment for evil actions.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, we find a change. Now the concept of moral retribution is formulated : man is the maker of his own destiny. *S.B.* VI. 2.2.27 says : a person is born in a world made by himself : *Kṛtam lokaṃ puruṣobhijāyata* and man is the creative intelligence (*Kratumayo'yam puruṣaḥ*) and whatever is his will or intention at the time of his death, he becomes that in the next world, " *S.B*[44] X. 6.3.1. The *SB*[45] XI. 2.7.33 states that every one is

---

43 Cited by *Kane* Vol. IV p. 154. Kane points out that in the *RV* we find faint belief in a deep dark pit below the earth to which wicked persons were consigned by the gods. There is no mention in the *RV* of tortures of hell. Kane *ibid;* p. 155. In fact Roth believed that *RV* knows nothing of hell, the wicked beings being annihilated by death. Macdonell : *ibid* : p. 169

44 *Kratumayoayam puruṣaḥ sa yāvaṭ kraturayam smāllokāt praityevam kraturhānnum lokam pretyābhisambhavati* X. 6.3.1

45 *Atha haisaiva tulā.....tulāyām ৺ha vā amuṣmilloka ādadhāti yata adyavsyati tadnveṣyati yadı sādhu va asādhu vetyathā ya evam*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

born after death and is weighed in a blance and receives reward and punishment according to his works. *SB* XII. 9.1.1 says that whatever food (*anna*) a man eats in this world, that very food in the other world preys on that man—as a man sows so shall he reap. The idea of retribution is explicit in *S.B.* XI. 6.1.3-6: men cut up the limbs of others for similar physical injury caused to them by their present victims in their previous lives. The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Up.* XI. 3. says that just as a man in this world eats the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world, the beasts eat the men : *tadyathā ha vā asminlloke manuṣyaḥ paśunaśnti yathaibhirbhuñjata evamevāmuṣminlloke paśavo manuṣyośnantevamebhirbhuñjate.*

It is thus clear that the concept of *naraka* being a place of punishment and of tortures emerges in the later *Brāhmaṇas.*

In epic mythology,[46] hell is only a temporary abode of retribution. Persons of unrighteous conduct (*adharmeṇa samāyukto*) undergo tortures in hell and thereafter take birth as birds and animals *Mbh* 13.112.37-44. Again a seller of Soma spends 30 (or 300) years in hell called Raurava (*Mbh* 13.104. 13-14) and is then reborn as a worm living on its own excreta. Adulterers live in hell for as many years as there are pores in the body, *Mbh* 13.104.22 (Bombay ed).

Again heaven and hell acquire separate compartments:[47] the sacrificers, saints or philosophers and those who are patient go to different worlds in the *svarga.* On the other hand, bad worlds (*Kṛcchra loka*) are hell in the sense of rebirth in low forms. *Mbh* 7.101-72, *Mbh* 3.29.39 and 3 178.9-12. Likewise the number of hells is multiplied in the form of separate compartments for different kind of offences or for a group of allied offence. The lengends of Yayāti[48] (*Ram* 2.11.1 and *Mbh* 5.119.17) and of Indradyumna (*Mbh* 3.191.12-28) indicate that when a sacrificer exhausts his stock of merit. he comes down to this earth.

This multiplication of heavens and hells is indicative of the fact that heaven and hell cease to be separate *lokas,* regions or places: they are different forms of existence in which a person is reborn after death in conformity with the quality of his deeds. *Chāndogya Up* 8.6 clearly speaks of *Karma-arjita loka,* or world or form of existence obtained through works including good deeds. *Bṛhad Up* 4.4.3 and 4.4.4 speak of transmigration, the soul of the deceased taking new birth (in another *loka*) as a mane, a celestial minstrel or *gandharva* or as a god (*deva*). *Bṛhad Up* 6.2.2 hints at *punarjanma* or rebirth, the dying person (*prayatya*) going on different paths and eventually returning to this world (*imam lokam*

46 Hopkins : *ibid;* p. 111

47 Hopkins : p. 6

48 (a) *yayātimeva puṇyānte devalokāt paricyutam. Ram*
(b) *yayātismi rājarṣiḥ kṣiṇapuṇyacyuto divaḥ. Mbh.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

punarāpadhyantā). In other words heaven and hell are divisions of various forms of life classified as retributory : compensatory (heaven) and punitive (hell). According to Śabara[49] (5th Century AD) *svarga* is a state of joy (*prītiḥ svarga iti*), that state of happiness which is not mixed with pain and is not immediately overwhelmed by pain, which is present, whenever desired, is denoted by the word *svāḥā* (or *svarga*). Kumārila Bhaṭṭa[50] says : heaven and

---

49 *Śabara bhāṣya on Jaimini Sūtra* VI. 1.2. See also Kane : *ibid;* Vol. IV, p. 167 f.n. 405

50 *Ṭūptīkā* on *Pūrvamīmāṁsā Sūtra* IV. 3.28 and VI. 1.1. See also Kane *ibid* Vol. V, f.n. 1969 quoting *Sāṁkhyatattva Kaumudī* of Vācaspati, Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on *Udyogoparva* of the *Mbh* and *Prakaraṇapañcikā*. Gonda in *Loka : World and Heaven in the Veda*, Amsterdam 1966 has observed (p. 193) 'Commentators', writing in later period. .....regarded this use of *lokas* in the plural as denoting positions in which to enjoy the fruits of *karman* i.e. as the effects of former deeds. By performing deeds.....which now are not only ritual acts..... one creates a *loka*, that is to say one produces effects determining ones future mode of existence, the situation in which these fruits are gathered and enjoyed is a *loka*. Hence for instance, the epic belief : through various meritorious acts one acquires various *lokas*, through misdeeds and wicked behaviour one loses them..... these *lokas* are positions, states or modes existence which one has secured by one's own behaviour (e.g. *Mbh* 7, a, 29 d[illegible]r. ed.)"

Gonda : *ibid;* pp. 143. 144 reiterates "..... the term *loka* in the late[illegible]r Vedic texts applied to the different states of existence, in this world and elsewhe[illegible]re, in which a being which is subject the *saṁsāra*, may be.....That these sta[illegible]es of existence in which one is ritually reborn are made by oneself and that *in the* future one will receive that form of existence and those circumstance[illegible]s *in life* which one has gained or brought on oneself before that future birth may be understood from *S.B.* VI. 2.2.27 *Kṛtam lokam puruṣo 'bhi jāyate'* man is born into the existence made (by him) !

Gonda traces the changes in the meaning the words *svarga loka* undergoes in the *Vedic* and post-*Vedic* literature in the same treatise.

Gonda *ibid;* pp. 77 and 80 further points out that, from a large number of contexts, it is clear that the phrase *svarga loka* often denoted 'the [illegible]', conceived as a state of bliss and happiness. Gonda *ibid;* pp. 82-83 goes on to say that it is clear that it (*loka*) was on the one hand considered the reward of ritual (religious) merits, on the other hand, a position, state or condition consisting of happiness.

Pañcaviṁsa Brāhmaṇa (*P.B.*) 10.4.5. also suggests that *svarga loka* is a state of bliss in this world. This finds confirmation in *At. Br.* 7.10.3 which

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

hell are mere stations in the round of rebirths, that *svarga* is not a place or locality (*viśeṣadeśa*). Śaṅkara defined *loka* as "a place for enjoying the fruits of one's actions". The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[51] II. 6.44 maintains that heaven (*svarga*) is that which delights the mind; *naraka* (hell) is its opposite, that is, which causes pain or suffering. Hence *naraka* (hell) indicates *pāpa*, evil deeds, and *svarga* (heaven) indicates *puṇya* good deeds. According to the *Brahmapurāṇa* II. 6.46 heaven and hell are mental states characterized by happiness and suffering.

For the enjoyment of happiness another body (*dehāntara*) is an essential pre requisite In consequence Kumārila[52] emphasises 'heaven' is only a station in the round of rebirths, that is experienced in another corporeal existence.

The mass of textual evidence establishes that *svarga* was not deemed to be special region of existence but merely one of the states of existence into which soul is born in accordance with the quality of its *Karmas*.

Heaven and Hell in Buddhism and Jainism

Aśvaghoṣa in *Saundarānanda*, *X* describes the beauties of heaven. It is a region of material pleasures, a world of beautiful nymphs, rich in fruits, flowers, birds, precious metals and jewels, free from old age and sorrow. But this heaven is attained by *tapa* (*austerities*) and *śīla* (conduct) *ibid* X.27, X 33, X 36. The pleasures of heaven—living with the *devatās*, and amidst beautiful forests and free from old age—all this is the result of good *Karmas* and not due to any

---

states that by performing the *agnihotra* along with his wife, the sacrificer wins sons, grandsons and great-grandsons in this and yonder world and that yonder (world) of heaven is in this world (*asmimlloka'yam svargah*).

Gonda : *ibid;* pp. 90-96.

To sum up Gonda : the term *loka* in later Vedic texts applied to different states of existence, in this world and elsewhere, in which a being which is subject to the *samsāra* may be (ef. eg. *Ch Up* 4.14.3). The term *loka*, after the belief in transmigration and *punarjanma* had taken firm root is used to denote those places or states or situations in which the soul enjoys the fruits of *merits* while transmigrating from one existence to another. (p. 148) 'Having exhausted the results of whatever work he did in this world (*iha*) he comes again from that world to this world for (new) action' (*Bṛhad up* 4.4.6) (p. 148).

Śabara (5th century AD) and Kumārila (8th century AD) emphasised the purely eulogistic character of the descriptions of heaven and other important *lokas*, which Gonda (p. 151) describes as 'mythologying imagery of poetical inventiveness'.

51 *Manaḥ prītakaraḥ svargo narakas tu viparyayah / Narakassvargasamjñe vai pāpapuṇye dvijottama //*

52 *Ṭūpṭīkā* on *Pūrvamīmāṁsā sūtra* 4.3.28

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

other cause (*idam phalam svastha śubhasya karmaṇo n· dattamanyena na cāpya-hetutaḥ*—X 61). In fact even in heaven enjoyment is graded according to the quality of *Karmas*, low, excellent and average (*hīna, vasiṣṭa, madhya*) X 32.

In *Saundarānanda*, XI Aśvaghoṣa describes the limitations of *svarga*–a person who has attained heaven through difficult works, returns to the world of men (*nṛlokam punarevaiti*) XI 39. Aśvaghoṣa cites the cases of Nahuṣa, who was a ruler of *devatās*, but fell from heaven and became a serpent (XI. 44) of Ilivila who became a tortoise after his fall from heaven (XI. 45) and of Bhūri-dyumna, Yayāti and other *rājarṣis*, who attain heaven by their *Karmas*. (*Karma-bhirdyāmbhikrīya*) and on the decline (*Kṣaya*) of those *Karmas*, they lose the heaven (XI 46). So Aśvaghoṣa proclaims : *Vijñāya kṣayiṇam svargam* : Know that heaven is liable to destruction (XI 55. XI. 60). He sums up with the statement : *samsāre bhrāmyamā ṇam divi nṛṣu narake tiryakpitṛṣu ca*: a man wanders in heaven, world of human beings, or hell, the *world* of animals and of forefathers XI. 62.

The *Majjhimanikāya* 130 describes the tortures in hell : the evil doers are subjected to various kinds of physical punishment causing acute pain and suffering such as driving pegs through the limbs and other parts of the body, tying a person to a chariot and driving him over red hot embers, throwing him in a glowing cauldron of metal etc. Yama is the king of the wardens of hell. He emphasises : Those who do evil deeds must undergo misery and woe of purgatory.

It should be noted that the *devas*, human beings and all other embodied creation belong to the *Kāmadhātu* of Buddhist cosmology.

The Jainas similarly divide the universe into four parts : (i) *adholoka*, the lower or under world, which is the home of beings of hell (*naraka*) demons, titans etc. The hells are places of torture, (ii) *madhya loka*, the middle world, the abode of human beings (*manuṣya*) and animals (*tiryañca*), (iii) *Ūṛdhva loka*, the abode of heavenly beings, *devas* or gods, (iv) *siddha loka*, the abode of liberated souls. The *Sūtrakaṛtāṅga* I. 5.1.3 and 18 (S. B. E. Vol. 45) describes the punishments in hells for evil deeds. " Those cruel sinners who, from a desire of (worldly) life, commit bad deeds, will sink into the dreadful hell which is full of dense darkness and great sufferings. " (3)

" Those whose bad *karman* takes effect; (the punisher) violently torment again and again those whose bad *karman* takes effect also (viz. the punished). (18).

The *Sūtrakaṛtāṅga* I.5.2 describes the sufferingsthe sinners have to undergo for the deeds they have done in their former lives. ' (1)

Transformation of Yama

The transformation in the role and character of Yama in Hindu mythology

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

is the result of the doctrine of *Karma*. This would be evident from a comparison of the character of Yama in the Vedic and Epic mythologies. *RV*. I. 35.6 divides heaven *divyaloka* into there compartments (*tisrau dyāvaḥ* : two belong to the god Savitā and the third is occupied by Yama. In other words Yama is one of the rulers of the heavens but not a member of the community of gods, *devas*. According to : *T.S.* II. 5.11 "The gods and Yama were in strife over this world. Yama appropriated the power and the strength of the gods; hence his name Yama. The gods reflected Yama has become what we are; similarly *SB* X : 4.3. 1-11 speaks of Yama as Ender (*antaka*) was a gain to the gods. This also emphasises that Yama was a later addition to the rank of gods.

The route to *Yamaloka* is now different from the *pitṛyāna* of the *Vedas*; there is no water to drink, no place to rest, no trees to give shade for the soul travelling from *bhūloka* to *yamaloka*. So in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[53] 2. 12. 87 (Bombay ed.) Daśaratha tells Kaikeyī that if Rāma is exiled to the forest, he (Daśaratha) who has thereby committed an unpardonable wrong, will be despatched to *yamaloka* by Death. *Yamaloka* ceases to be a divine region of enjoyment or pleasure, *pitṛloka*; it is transformed into a region of retributive justice awarding rewards and punishments to souls of deceased for their *karmas*. It comprises both *svaraga* (heaven) and *naraka* (hell) and not merely *pitṛloka* located in the highest of the three heavens of *Vedic* mythology.[54]

As the ruler of *pitṛloka* (*paraloka*), he is gracious towards the just and punishes the unjust *Mbh* 13.68.45 (Bombay ed.) *Mbh* 1.68.30 says that he the witness of all secret *Karmas* (*hṛdi sthitaḥ karma sākṣī*). *Mbh* 12.68.45 describes Yama as one who punishes severly the unjust (*adhārmikān ... ... tīkṣṇaidaṇḍai niyacchati*) and who bestows grace on the righteous (*dhārmikān anugṛhṇāti*). *Mbh* 12.92.38 calls Yama, the king Māndhātā, the lord of lords of the righteous (*yamo rājā dhārmīkānām māndhātāḥ parameśvaraḥ*) and he keeps the evil beings under control (*prāṇān na sañyacchatsu pāpakaḥ*). *Mbh* 12.92 40 says that the special feature (*viśeṣataḥ*) of Yama is that he keeps mankind under control (*yacchati bhūtāni sarvāṇi*). *Mbh* 12.207.35 (Bombay ed.) describes Yama as one who punishes the evil doers (*śāsitāram pāpānām*). *Mbh* 13.105.14 says that the deceased who had done good works, live in *Yamaloka* in happiness and those who have done evil deeds are in a state of sorrow

yatra preto nandati puṇyakarma |
yatra pretaḥ śocati pāpakarma ||

Thus Yamarāja is now *dharmarāja*: *Mbh* 1.9. 12-13, 1.50.1 and 3.281.40 *dharma rājatā*. His character as a just ruler is confirmed by *Mbh* 13.105.16 wherein it is said that the weak can seek his refuge from injustice done by the strong :

---

53 Hopkins : *ibid*; p. 108

54 Macdonell : *ibid*; p. 169

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

yatra ablā balinām yātayanti). *Amarakoṣa svaraga varga* 53 & 54A calls him *dharmarāja* as also *samavartin*, impartial judge. So in epic mythology Yama is the judge of the dead, *dharmarāja*, *dharamendra*, *daṇḍadhara*, wielder of the rod of justice. In discharging this function, he is assisted by Citragupta, who keeps a record of the good and evil acts of all men and these form the basis of divine dispensation. Citragupta is a non-*Vedic*, epic figure.

This change in the character of Yama is reflected in the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* XX. 3. It states : "the spiritual teacher corrects the learned, the king corrects the evil minded, but Yama, the son of Vivasvat, for sooth, punishes those who offend secretly". Evidently the king punishes breaches of positive law in this life and Yama punishes, in the lives hereafter, violations of the moral law of *karma*.

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II. 7,14-15 is quite specific about the function of Yama : Brahmā appoined Yama to restrain mankind and to regulate the consequences of good and evil in the universe : *loka hitāhite niyukataḥ*. The *Agnipurāṇa* CCIII says: "the messengers of death take the souls of the deceased persons to the god who is the warden of this bridge of lives (Yama)" and are punished and rewarded by him. The *Nāradapurāṇa* I. 31.51-52 emphasises that Yama is equal and impartial to the rich and poor, the fool and the learned, the daring and the coward. This clearly recognises him as the *dharmarāja*.

Though in Buddhist literature, the Buddha is called *dharmarāja* the master of conduct, Yama is considered to be a judge of the dead for their moral lapses. In the *Majjhimanikāya* 130 Yama punishes the deceased through *nirayapālas* (lords of hell) according to their deeds. The lexion of the Buddhist Śrīdharasena[55] surviving in Tibetan (perhaps of the 12th Century A.D.) reproduces the various names of Yama given in the *Amarakoṣa* including *dharmarāja* and *samvartin*. *Yamaloka* is a realm of the four regions of hell and not of *pitṛloka* and Yama is the ruler of the infernal regions *naraka*, *niraya*.

The *Tibetan Book of the Dead*,[56] describes the role of Yama vividly : He is the king of the Dead, the judge who holds up before the deceased the shining mirror of his *karma*, wherein all the deeds of the deceased are reflected. It says "know that apart from these *Kārmic* forces, there is no judge of the Dead, no gods and no demons".

---

55 Cited by Alex Wayman : *ibid*; p. 45

56 Conze : *Buddhist Scriptures* Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1959 pp. 229-230.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ON THE PURĀṆIC NATURE OF THE VIṢṆU SMṚTI

By
GREG BAILEY*

In a recently published book J.D.M. Derrett makes the following statement about the Viṣṇu Smṛti (Vism.) :

> The Viṣṇu-Smṛti, which is a puzzle, stands between the thought-world of Manu and that of the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. This smṛti is encapsulated in a heavy sheath of myth, the worship of Viṣṇu occupying a substantial place. This smṛti is a bridge between the philosophical Hinduism of Manu (reminscent of the Bhagavad-gītā) and the epics on the one hand and the sectarian puranas on the other.[1]

Similarly, L. Renou, writing about the same text, several times uses the terms ' caractere Purāṇique ' and ' type Purāṇique ' in his description of certain features of its style.[2] Renou's willingness to use such terms and the existence of a statement such as that made by Derrett surely begs the question of the nature of the two genres Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra and invites comparison between them, as well as discussion of their differences. Strictly speaking one can only assign the status of ' bridge ' (a vague term as it stands) to a particular text on the supposition that there exists a clear definition, insofar as this is at all possible to achieve, of the two genres which it is supposed to bridge. However this situation does not exist in respect of Dharmaśāstra or Purāṇa in either Western scholarship on India or in the indigenous Indan tradition of poetics.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept. December 1987 issue, pp. 21-34.

* Division of Religions Studies, La Trobe University, Bundoora Victoria, Australia-3083.

1 Derrett, J. D. M. *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature*, (Wiesbaden, 1973, Otto Harrassowitz), p. 37.

2 L. Renou, " Sur La Forme De Quelques Textes Sanskrites ", *Journal Asiatique*, (1961), p. 166, " Il y a quelque abus de langage quand,dans la portion terminale (98), qui est de caractère purāṇique, viennent śnsérer quelques sū. narratifs .. utili ant le verbe au parafait... p. 167, ' Il y a des ouvertures quasi philosophes, ainsi sur le Temps (*Kāla*) 20, 22-53, long discours de type purāṇique... p. 171, n. 17. Cf .. encore une énumération traditionelle comme celle du vers 22, 81 sur les douze excrétions du corps; 83-84 sur les diverses sortes de liquers... Tout ceci forme autant d'insertions de caractère purāṇique... ".

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Given the abundance of *śāstra* material that occurs in the Purāṇas, in fact, given the general eclecticism of their contents, it is necessary to define the Purāṇa genre if only to distinguish it from other literary genres which are the source of its contents and some of its stylistic features. Should the Purāṇa merely be seen as an amalgam of disparate literary material, which it undoubtedly is, or should it be precisely defined as a genre which creates the possibility for a new style of composition in Indian literature ? Any attempt to take the second question seriously, which means any attempt to define the genre called Purāṇa can only have the effect of placing it in opposition to those genres from which it draws so much of its material and which it superficially resembles. Moreover any such definition must have the effect of giving further refinement to the definitions (if they exist) of these other genres and must act as a stimulus for the eventual development of a typology of all genres within Indian literature.

The reason for seeing the *Vism.* as a ' bridge ', though ' transitional text ' might be a more accurate term, is that in terms of content and form it embodies characteristics of both Dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa. Of the one hundred chapters that make up this work there are fifteen which are Purāṇic in content and of these nine contain devotional material about Viṣṇu, three make no mention of him but are avowedly Purāṇic in content, and there are two other chapters which show a Purāṇic imprint.[3] Moreover of these fifteen at least three are in the form of mythic narrative, a stylistic form typical of the Purāṇas, whereas the other twelve are in the tabloid *sūtra* form typical of the Dharmaśāstras but equally well represented in the Purāṇas. The other eighty-five chapters are all clearly Dharmaśāstric in content and in fact occur either verbatim or in substance in the other Dharmaśāstras and Dharmasūtras. In view of this division, the task at hand is to determine how these two sections of the *Vism.* influence one another and whether the fifteen chapters I have, intuitively at this stage, called Purāṇic narrative sequence in the *Vism.* can be seen most lucidly if its sequential stages are presented in schematic form.

1 1, 1-18. The boar *avatāra* of Viṣṇu raises up the Earth from the primeval waters.

---

3 The three chapter groupings to which I refer are (1) 1, 49, 65, 67, 90, 97-99; (2) 20, 72, 85; (3) 35-36. Section three consists of two chapters which list various crimes and both conclude that these crimes can be expiated by making a visit to a *tīrtha*. In both chapters the capacity of a *tīrtha* to cause purification is compared with that of the performance of a horse-sacrifice (35, 6, 36, 7). This tendency to compare *tīrtha* with *śrauta* sacrifice is a typical feature of the formal description of a *tīrtha* as found in the *Mbh.* and the Purāṇas. I mention this because of the fifteen chapters which I consider Purāṇic in content, these two are the least convincing.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

2 18-34. The Earth wonders how she will be sustained and seeks advice from Kaśyapa, who tells her to find Viṣṇu.

3 36-43. Viṣṇu's *darśana*.

4 44-47. The Earth requests Viṣṇu to help her sustain herself and he agrees to do this.

5 48-62. The Earth delivers a *stotra* to Viṣṇu.

6 63-65. Introduction to the recitation of the smṛti.

7 2-97. Viṣṇu recites the *Vism*.

8 98, 1-4. The Earth, having heard Viṣṇu's teachings, asks to become his devotee.

9 98, 6-99, 23. She performs long *stotras* to Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī and receives teachings from Lakṣmī.

Though one might disagree about whether the myth should be divided into just nine stages or whether it should be divided into stages at all, its presentation requires us to treat the *Vism.* in a diflerent generic category to that of the other Dharmaśāstras and Sūtras.[4]

The most striking feature of the *Vism.* is the enframement of the Dharmaśāstra portion of the text by mythic material. Renou and Derrett both acknowledge the existence of this frame, but neither discuss the implications it migt have for influencing the way that meaning is created in respect of the Dharmaśāstric portion of the text.[5] This mythic material consists of fragments of myths (the myths being found in their entirety in other texts) grouped together in a deliberate way to produce this frame. It begins in chapter one where there is a cosmogonic myth in which Viṣṇu is portrayed as the primeval boar who creates the Earth by raising her up from the ocean at the end of a *pralaya*. The Earth, personified as a fecund young woman, is then depicted in an anxious state, concerned about who will sustain her. On Kaśyapa's advice she seeks out Visnu on the shore of the milk ocean where he grants her a *darśana* and she asks him to help her sustain herself. He agrees to do this and then she offers a *stotra* to him. This

4 Cf. the measured comment of Renou, " On y voit clairement les caractéres de l'ancien Dharmasutra śattenuer, se modifier, pour aboutir au schéma nouveau qui sera celui de la Smṛti ".

5 Derrett and Renou (p. 169) both equate this mythic material with the first chapter of the *Manu Smṛti* which also contains a cosmogonic myth. However, the comparison between the two texts can only be taken so far and it would be incorrect to argue for the existence of a mythic frame in Manu. For unlike the *Vism.*, Manu includes no mythic material at the end, though like the *Vism.* it uses mythic material at the beginning to introduce the *smṛti* material.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

stotra concludes the first part of the contents of the frame and the end of chapter one is the introduction to the smṛti section (2-98) of the text which does not form part of the frame. What is begun in chapter one only reaches its conclusion in chapters ninety-eight and ninety-nine where Earth, having heard Viṣṇu's teachings, comprising the smṛti section of the text, offers to become his devottee. Finally in proof of her devotion she offers a long *stotra* to Viṣṇu, after which she eulogizes Lakṣmī. Chapter one hundred, which concludes the frame, is a phalaśruti of the entire text.

There can be no doubt that the fragments of myth in these chapters do constitute a mythic frame or ' I 'encadrement mythique to employ Renou's term.[6] The mythic plot of this frame is that of the *avatāra*, a plot which also enframes many other texts, such as the two epics and the *Vāmana* and *Viṣṇu Puraṇas*. It in this way does reveal the principal stages in the narrative development of the myth across the entire *Vism*.

I will now examine each of these stages in turn.

1 The contents of these lines give a version of the well known myth of the boar *avatāra*, a myth found in many Purāṇas where the boar's function is exclusively cosmogonic since he raises the Earth out of the ocean at the end of the *pralaya*. The *Vism*. version of the myth includes this action, but it differs from the Purāṇic version to the extent that the boar undertakes everything concerned with the creation, whereas in the Purāṇas Brahmā takes over once the Earth has been brought out of the waters, thus clearly delineating his role from that of Viṣṇu. In fact this particular variant of the boar *avatāra* myth may well be unique to the *Vism*. Besides their cosmogonic content these verses reflect devotional values since on two occasions the terms *lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā* (1,11) and *bhūtahitārthinā* (1.12) state the motive for the boar's extraction of the Earth. Both are important terms in the lexicon of *bhakti*.

2 Having raised up the Earth Viṣṇu disappears to a ' place unknown to beings ' (1,18), and leaves the Earth to wonder anxiously ' who will sustain me '. (*kā dhṛtir me bhaviṣyati*, 1.19). She proceeds to seek advice from Kaśyapa, who in the *avatāra* myth is a multiform of Brahmā.[7] like Brahmā in the *Mahābhārata*, Kaśyapa here sends the Earth to Viṣṇu, for, as Kaśyapa says, " he will tell you everything about how you are going to be sustained (*bhāvinī te yathā dhṛtiḥ* (1,31). Through meditation Kaśyapa locates Viṣṇu on the shore of the Milk ocean and she goes there in search of him.

If section one of the mythic frame contains a variant of a well known *avatāra* myth, so too do the eighteen verses of section two contain the beginnings

---

6 Renou. *op. cit.* p. 166.

7 Cf. Brahmā's role in relation to the Earth in *Mbh.* 1, 58, 35 ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of another *avatāra* myth. A first indication of this is the double occurrence of *dhṛti* as a concept summing up the Earth's immediate concern. Given that the word *dhṛti* is etymologically cognate with *dharma*, her request for 'sustenance' or 'support' is tantamount to asking that *dharma* be established for this would provide the very conditions consistent with her being supported in the appropriate way. Since one of the prime functions of the *avatāra* is to re-establish *dharma* once it has diminished to a low level, a diminution usually guaged by the straitened condition of the Earth, the anxiety of the Earth in the *Vism.* closely parallels her attitude exhibited in most other versions of the *avatāra* myth.[8] So too is the appearance of Kaśyapa/Brahmā (cf. *Vāmanapurāṇa Sarohamāhātmya*, 3, 7-6, 11) in a mediating role found in many other versions of the *avatāra* myth.

3 The Earth sets out for the Milk Ocean in order to visit (*draṣṭum*) Viṣṇu and the nine verses of this section provide a vivid description of what she sees when she finds him : the ocean, Viṣṇu's residence in the ocean and Viṣṇu himself. The language used in this description is rich, if not opulent and this language and the imagery it invokes is that used in standard descriptions of the *darśana*. This means that although the physical aspects of the ocean and of Viṣṇu's residence are the explicit subjects of description, the implicit intention is to describe them in such a way as to suggest the pervasive influence of Viṣṇu in them ?[9] As such these verses function as a description of the god himself.

In the few verses where Viṣṇu is actually described light imagery is amply used, a standard practice in *darśana* descriptions. Such imagery is designed to evoke the great power and purity of the god, just like the use of words such as *anirdeśya* (1, 40), which refer to the indescribable nature of Viṣṇu's abode, to evoke Viṣṇu's hidden aspect, an aspect of the god which identifies him with Brahman. The appearance of this word serves to reinforce to the reader/hearer what was foreshadowed in 1, 18-19 where the boar *avatāra* after having finished his creative activity is described as having gone to a place unknown to beings (*lokānāmavijñātaṃ tadā gatim*).

These nine verses of this section demonstrate that the audience is being presented with two images of Viṣṇu, an impersonal and a personal one. This meets two requirements, both related, that must necessarily be met in most types of texts that have a strong *bhakti* imprint. Firstly, the correct picture of the physical *avatāra*, essentially a personal form of Viṣṇu, must be given whilst the idea that the god remains aloof from worldly activies must also be brought out. This requirement is achieved here by the juxtaposition of 'personalist' imagery

8 For some examples see my article, Brahmā, Pṛthiu and theme of the Earth-milker in Hindu Mythology', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 23(1981). pp. 105-116.

9 Cf. 1, 36 cd. which describes the sea: *antarasthena hariṇā vigarāśeṣa kalmaṣam.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

with statements about Viṣṇu's indescribability. Second, given the importance of the deity in *bhakti* devotionalism, certain 'theological' statements about Viṣṇu's nature must be made. The mere presentation of the *avatāra*, which is an implicit conceptual model of deity, already represents such a statement and this conceptual model provides a complete framework for a presentation of different views of the deity since it includes the two conrary (but complementary in the *āvatāra*) poles of personal and impersonal. As the narrative of the *Vism.* proceeds both these images will receive further elaboration.

One further point about these nine verses is that they are entirely descriptive and do not contribute to the continuation of the narrative plot. What then is their function here ? Is it to convince the reader/hearer that Viṣṇu is a god of sufficient power to undertake the task that will be set for him ? If so it does function, in spite of its static nature, to move the narrative along since it restates his qualification to be the *avatāra* and, to act accordingly. In the *Vāmanapurāṇa* where Vāmana is the requisite *avatāra*, there does seem to be evidence of an essentially descriptive passage being used for this purpose. [10]. There though it is a myth which is narrated to demonstrate his power and it demonstrates this explicitly. In the *Vism.*, however, his power is only implied in these purely descriptive verses, but given the extent to which Viṣṇu's power in myth would have been known to any Purāṇic or Smṛti audience, this would suffice.

4 Next the Earth makes her simple request to Viṣṇu and in doing so further advances the plot development of the *avatāra* myth.

Uddhṛtāhaṃ tvayā deva rasātalatalaṃ gatā|
svasthāne sthāpitā viśṇo lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā||
tatrādhunā me deveśa kā dhṛtirvai bhaviṣyati| (1, 45-46a b).

"When I had gone to the surface of the underworld you drew me up, O God, and from a desire for the good of beings you placed me in my own position, O Viṣṇu. But now that I am here, who will sustain me, Lord of the gods ?"

Viṣṇu's response is immediate :

varṇāśramācāratā śāstraikatatparāyaṇāḥ|
tvāṃ dhare dhārayiṣyanti teṣāṃ tvadbhāra āhitaḥ|| (1, 47)

'Those who are devoted to behaviour (determined by) class and station of life, and who are intent solely upon the *śāstras*, will sustain you, O Earth. Your burden rests on them.'

These few verses offer a repetition of words and compounds which are found in those verses cited earlier where the Earth discovered herself to be alone after having been raised from the primeval sea. Three times derivatives of *dhṛ*

---

10 See *Vāmanā Purāṇa*. Ch. 52

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

occur and once again the important *bhakti* term *lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā* is found. This repetition should be seen as a re-inforcement of the *avatāra* theme already developed in the first thirty-six verses, but it is also a means to integrate the two myth fragments, embodying different variants of the *avatāra* myth, which occur here.

Verse (1, 47), which is spoken by Viṣṇu, states the general conditions under which Earth can expect to be sustained, or more specifically, the general conditions of behaviour consistent with *dharma* under which conditions the Earth will automatically be sustained But the sustenance and support is contingent upon the cosmological and social order of the inhabitant of the triple world being laid down as part and parcel of the teaching of *dharma*, an act which is undertaken not by the *avatāra* in the first version of the *avatāra* myth in the *Vism.* It is not undertaken here because it is a cosmogonic myth whereas the second one is a cosmological myth. And it is this second myth which provides a perfect pretext for introducing the teachings of *dharma*, since *dharma* regulates the cosmological disposition of the triple-world.

5 Twice (1, 48 and 1, 61) the Earth asks Viṣṇu to narrate the *varṇāśrama-dharma* and on both occasions these requests are put in the imperative. These two requests enframe a *stotra* (1, 49-61 ab) which contains the standard devotional terms (such as *namaste*, *prapannāsmi*) of any Purāṇic *stotra* as well as a long list of Viṣṇu's epithets. What is the function of this *stotra* in this precise location ? Viewed from the perspective of the plot of the myth it should simply be read as a means of persuading Viṣṇu to do what the Earth wants. In this sense it reflects a form of reciprocity between devotee and deity that is such an important form of relation *in bhakti*. The Earth praises Viṣṇu, and invokes his power and greatness, in return for which he must accede to her request. This however is not the only possible explanation of the meaning of this passage and I will examine another possibility later when analysing the devotional elements in the *Vism.*

6 This section simply reiterates what Viṣṇu will teach in the dharmaśāstric portion of the *Vism.* and also includes a command to the Earth to listen to these teachings. Its function in the mythic frame is to introduce Viṣṇu as the reciter of the rules of *dharma*, but it is also a formalized introduction to the non-mythical part of the text. Accordingly it can be considered a tranisitional section in that it directly bridges the two separate parts, namely the mythic and the tabloid, of the *Vism.*, smoothing the transition between changes in style and changes in content.

7 This comprises the largest section in the *Vism.* as it includes Viṣṇu's teachings on *dharma*. At its conclusion the *avatāra's* duty can be said to be completed for he has established the *dharmic* conditions whereby the Earth will be sustained by those who live on her. In a sense this section is the climax of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the *Vism.* as it constitutes the part of the text which in content and stayle establishes the right of the *Vism.* to be included in the genre called Dharmaśāstra. But as an example of this genre it is unique in that a god recites it rather than merely being the original source of the teaching that is then transmitted down a lineage until it reaches a sage who recites it to humans.

8 The first four lines of prose which make up this section form a natural conclusion to Viṣṇu's speech, yet they are transitional in that they reintroduce the mythical frame again. They mark a change in style from tabloid to narrative and in content from dharmaśāstra to myth. I cite the four verses in full :

'When the Earth was addressed in this way, she said, after having made obeisance with her head and on her knees, " O Illustrious one, the four great elements always make their abode in you: the atmosphere in the from of the conch shell, the air in the from of this discus, fire in the form of the club and water in the form of the lotus. I who have also changed into this earthly form wish to be in the midst of your feet " O Illustrious one ". And when the Illustrious one was addressed in the way he said 'yes'. And with her wish attained the earth did this and she eulogized the god of gods ". (98, 1-4).

The *avatāra* has completed his task and the Earth, in recognition of this and in recognition of his supremacy in the universe becomes Viṣṇu's devotee. This she signals by her physical act of obeisance and through her stated request to become physically (and spiritually) close to him by locating hereself in the midst of his feet.[11] Viṣṇu agrees to this request, thereby offering confirmation that he has accepted her as his devotee, and in turn, by eulogizing him, she verbally signals her own realization that she is his devotee.

These four verses present the reader/hearer with the confirmation of a specific relationship between the Earth and Viṣṇu, or in more formal terms of *Bhakti*, between god and his devotee. Yet they do much more than this. The description of Viṣṇu given in them is the description of a cosmic Viṣṇu and evokes

---

11 The Sanskrit pertaining to this is *ahamapyanenaiva rūpeṇa bhagavat-pādamadhye parivartinī bhavitumicchāmi* (98, 2), which J. Jolly, *The Institutes of Vishnu*, (Oxford, 1880; Reprint, Delhi, 1970), p. 291 renders as 'Now I also desire to attend upon thee, in my own shape, as the ground which Bhagavat's feet tread upon'. It is difficult to construe this translation, but it may be a result of Jolly's recognition that this portion of the text describes an image of Viṣṇu and that in such images he is depicted standing on the Earth. J. Banerji, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, (third ed., 1974, Delhi), pp. 401-2 and plates XXI and XXII which contain pictures and descriptions of Visnu which fit those given in this passage of the *Vism.* However in the images pictured there it is not clear if he is meant to be standing on the Earth. The translation I have given emphasizes the devotional relationship the Earth seeks to establish or confirm.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the image of the boar given in chapter one. Equally it can be taken as the description of a popular iconic form of Viṣṇu accompanied by brief exegetical comments on each of the four attributes he holds in his hands. What this means is that simultaneously the reader/hearer is given a theological statement about Viṣṇu and the relation he has to the cosmos on the one hand and about Viṣṇu as an object towards which devotional activity can be directed, on the other hand.

9 The next and final section of the mythic frame is taken up with the long eulogy the Earth performs before Viṣṇu, a eulogy which includes one hundred of Viṣṇu's names and covers most of chapter ninety-eight of the *Visn.* It is concluded with the following *śloka*

stutvā tvevaṃ prasannena manasā pṛthivī tadā /
uvācā saṃmukhaṃ devīṃ labdhakāmā vasundharā // (98, 102)

' After having praised him in this way, the Earth, tranquil in mind and her wish attained, addressed herself to the goddess '.

The compound *labdhakāmā* is also found in verse four of this same chapter where it refers to Viṣṇu's acceptance of her as standing between his feet, signalling that he considers her his devotee. Whilst the dual occurrence of this compound could be seen as cohesive device linking the beginning and end of chapter ninety-eight, its repetition may serve another semantic function. Is it placed twice in the chapter to strengthen the impression given in the text that she is Viṣṇu's devotee ?

Chapter ninety-nine contains the Earth's address to Lakṣmī and makes use of a mixture of metres to very good effect. Earth's address is a kind of *stotara* because it lists many of the qualities typically associated with Lakṣmī, along with qualities which also characterize her as the great goddess in complementarity with her husband. In verse six the Earth asks her about the dwelling place of her manifestations (*vibhūti*) and this is a pretext for Lakṣmī to list all those places where she resides in the form of *śrī*, here understood as the quality as well as the goddess. This list begins and ends with Lakṣmī's affirmation that she resides constantly with Viṣṇu (99,7 and 23).[12]. These affirmations act as a minor frame and from a Vaiṣṇava perspective sanction the value of everything in which she resides, including a whole range of substances, human activities and types of humans. Though brief the list provides a very general outline of the main topics treated in the *smṛti* itself.

Analysis.

The mythic frame described in the previous section of this paper contains two mythic plots—that of the *avatāra* and that which I have elsewhere called the

12 See 99, 7 *sadā sthitāhaṃ madhusūdanasya devasya pārśve tapanīyavarṇe/* 99, 2 *nimeṣamātraṃ ca vināk*ṛ*tāham na jātu tiṣṭhe puruṣottamena/*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

bhakti myth—widespread in Sanskrit literature.[13]. These plots interact in a decisive way to create specific meaning for the mythic frame. They have done this by shaping the way the mythic material has been ordered in the narrative and in this sense they have determined the meaning of the narrative. As a consequence of their shaping capacity they can be utilized as heuristic devices for interperting this mythic material of which the mythic frame is composed. This meaning is diffused throughout the text by means of a 'semantic frame', a kind of abstract model which underlies the plots, and by being aware of the existence and function of this semantic frame it is possible to show a consistent rationale which governs the inclusion of the other so—called Purāṇic material, ie. that which occurs outside of the mythic frame, in the *Vism*.

The first of the two plots is that of the *avatāra* and though the *Vism*. version contains variants not present in other Purāṇic versions of the *avatāra* myth it is clearly an *avatāra* myth. Here the characteristic role of the *avatāra* in upraising *dharma* occurs in Viṣṇu's act of narrating the dharmaśāstric position of the text, that which entails the substance of *dharma*. That *dharma* needed to be upraised at all is implied in the Earth's query about who will sustain her, an implication that *dharma* was lacking at that time. Viṣṇu's narration rectifies that lack. Moreover his narration of these prescriptions is functionally equivalent in this version of the *avatāra* myth to his destruction of *dharma*-threatening demons or the recovery of the Vedas as narrated in other versions of the myth.[14]

In the previous section I noted several technical *bhakti* terms used to describe Viṣṇu's motives for upraising the Earth out of the primeval waters. These point to the *bhakti* values that underlie this and all other versions of the *avatāra* myth. But in conjuction with, and reflected through the *avatāra* myth, there exists a plot structure derived from the *bhakti* myth. Given its title it is self evident that *bhakti* material should be found in the *Vism*. Yet this material is not presented in haphazard manner since if the frame myth of the whole text is shaped by the *avatārā* plot-structure, it is also shaped in a more subtle way by the *bhakti* myth, a myth which sets out the essential steps in the transformation of a person or some other figure from the status of non-devotee to that of devotee of a particular deity.[15] Underlying this transformation and its literary manifestations

---

13 See my article "For A New study of The *Vāmana Purāṇa*", *Indo Iranian, Journal* 29 (1986), pp. 1-16.

14 Visnu's role in recovering the Vedas can be found in *Mbh.* (Crit. Ed.) 12, 335, 20-68.

15 Here I give only the briefest summary of this myth. For another brief summary with an illustration taken from the Prahlāda myth see Bailey, op. cit. pp. 10-11. A much more comprehensive statement is given in my unpublished paper, "The Semantics of Bhakti in the *Vāmana Purāaṇa*".

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

is a coherent *bhakti* semantic frame and this semantic frame can be used as an heuristic device for the interpretation of all the *bhakti* material in the *Vism.*

The relationship which unfolds between the Earth and Viṣṇu in the frame chapters of the *Vism.* is defined by the transformation that is the principal signifier of the *bhakti* myth. In the *Vism.* Viṣṇu is obviously the *bhakti* god and the Earth consciously becomes his devotee after he has taught the *dharma.* Yet she is certainly not a devotee in the first chapter of the text because when first created she is aware *only* of herself and of her own predicament. All her thoughts are directed at her own survival and her initial approach to Viṣṇu is subservient to this goal. Though the *stotra* she recites to Viṣṇu in this chapter has a substantial devotional content, her utterance of it is largely a stratagem to persuade Viṣṇu to teach the *dharma,* the existence of which will mollify her own anxieties about who will sustain her. Certainly, the content and nature of the *stotra* is devotional in comparison with all other *stotras* delivered in the Purāṇas, etc., and its existence in the text, even at this juncture, serves a didactic function for the reader/hearer who is a devotee of Viṣṇu, but in the unfolding of the Earth's relationship with Viṣṇu it represents at the most an incipient feeling of devotion.[16].

Once Viṣṇu has delivered the recitation of dharmic rules the Earth's initial goal is achieved and though she is pleased about this, her attitude towards him has markedly changed. She now states openly that she wishes to become his devotee and the long *stotra* that follows has no other purpose than Viṣṇu's own glorification. As such it definitely functions as an expression of her own devotion. Her *stotra* delivered to Lakṣmī can be seen in the same light. Though there are two *stotras* here, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī function here as a single devotional unit.

The transformation just outlined rests on an implied model, a semantic frame which is abstract in form, which acts as a kind of grid placed on the raw contents available to the composer of a text.[17]. The grid is an implicit guidance system allowing choices to be made concerning the inclusion or non-inclusion of

---

16 In the *bhakti* myth alluded to in fn. 13 the recitation of a *stotra* like this functions as the first sign of incipient devotion. The model also allows for a later *stotra* (as in Ch. 99 of the *Vism.*) to follow, a *stotra* which functions as a vehicle for the devotee to lay open fully his or her devotion, now that he or she self-consciously becomes a devotee. In addition the model also posits a stage where the potential devotee witneses without comprehending its full significance, a theophany or a marvellous (*āścaryam, adbhutam*) sight. The Earth's vision of Viṣṇu's abode and of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī on the milk ocean (*Vism.* 1, 36-43) has some elements of this stage.

17 For details see 'The Semantics of...

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

material into a text.[18]. Accordingly in a text like the *Vism.*, material which makes no immediate sense in a dharmaśāstric context can be inserted into the text because it makes full sense within the *bhakti* grid, which, although most clearly manifested in the mythic frame, extends, through its framing function, its influence over the entire text. Material of this category which falls outside of the mythic frame of the *Vism.* occurs in chapters on cosmogony and time period,[19] Viṣṇu *pūjā* (49,65-66), *tīrtha* descriptions (85)[20] and instructions about how one should meditate upon Viṣṇu (97). This list of subjects summarizes the necessary components of any given Purāṇa and their existence in a Purāṇa is one of the necessary conditions for the Purāṇic genre to be characterized as a devotional genre.

As such Purāṇic contents are in part ordered by the grid mentioned above which itself reflects the coherent *bhakti* semantic to which I have already made allusion. This semantic lays down the theoretical conditions which must be met for a given figure to be either devotee or god and it also plots the transformation which will turn the non-devotee into a devotee and the non-*bhakti* god into a *bhakti* god. For the analyst this semantic can act as an heuristic device, as the semantic allows one to account for all the *bhakti* and non-*bhakti* material which occurs in the *Vism.* For example, the *pūjā* descriptions and the *tīrtha* listings found in the *Vism.* are necessary information which enables the devotee to manifest devotion in a practical way. Similarly, *stotras* and *darśanas*, insofar as they display the characteristics of a deity and allude to mythological events involving that deity, convey to the devotee an image of the deity replete with divine functions. In a Western sense they are equivalent to theology. Yet they also have a strong iconic element and could function as the subject for meditation or recollection (*smaraṇa*).

Those chapters of the *Vism.* which contain devotional material in them or which are Purāṇic in nature and yet fall outside of the frame chapters have, in general, not been located haphazardly in the narrative, but have been included in

---

18 There must also be a grid which determines the ordering of the dharmaśāstric material but it is mot my intention to study this here.

19 That is, it organizes both the mythic frame and the dharmaśāstra component position of the text. It does not appear to have explicitly organized the pure dharmaśāstra component itself.

20 One chapter which defies this arrangement is Ch. 85 which lists a large number of *tīrthas*. It is introduced (85, 1) with the assertion that a *śrāddha* offered at Puṣkara confers eternal bliss upon the giver. This assertion acts as a bridge with the previous chapter which details location where *śrāddha* are forbidden. Ch. 86, however, bears no relation in content to Ch. 85 and deals with the ritual of setting a bull at liberty.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

such a way so as to fit comfortably with their context so preventing the arising of narrative rupture which is a prominent characteristic of Purāṇic narrative (19). A few examples will suffice. Chapter twenty of the *Vism.* deals with various units of time and is virtually identical with the presentation of the same subject in the Purāṇic cosmogonic myths. It also includes some pseudo-philosophical speculation about death and the nature of the *ātman*, but here its literary exemplar is the *Upaniṣads* or perhaps the *Bhagavadgītā*. The chapter (19) which precedes it contains general statements about death in the context of laying down the prescribed conduct for a brāhmaṇa immediately after the death of a relative. The chapter (21) following it takes off from where Ch. 19 left off, giving further instructions about the conduct of a brāhmaṇa and the rituals he is required to perform. A similar scenario is presented in Ch. 49, which lists the results of expiating offences by performing *pūjā* to Viṣṇu. It is preceded by a chapter which lists various forms of expiations for particular *pāpmans* and is followed by a chapter which lists still more expiations culminating in the *mahāvrata*.

The effect of the existence of these chapters in the *Vism.*, so well integrated into the purely dharmaśāstric portion of the narrative, is to reinforce the devotional framework of the whole narrative. Though one might argue that the devotional underpinning of the narrative only comes when the entire frame is perceived, the first chapter contains a sufficient quantity of devotional material and an appropriate plot to raise an expectancy, in the audience witnessing the oral narration, for more such material. This expectancy exists even though the audience must know that such material is somewhat anomalous in the dharmaśāstric genre. But in addition the first chapter demands a conclusion and it is only in the conclusion, after some devotional material has been inserted sporadically, (but nevertheless, systematically) into the text that the climax comes. This climax has two manifestations, the transformation of the Earth into a devotee and the resolution of the problem as to how she would be sustained.

The *avatāra* myth is the principal organizing factor that operates across the surface narrative of the entire *Vism.*20. Its relationship to the *bhakti* myth is that of signifier to signified in so far as it points back beyond itself to all the *bhakti* material in the *Vism.* which has been organized in terms of the semantic frame of which the *bhakti* myth is an expression. To put this in another way: the *avatāra* plot allows us to define the entire narrative of the *Vism.* as an expression of the *avatāra's* activity. Even the dharmaśāstric portion of the text can be included here as it is the expression, albeit, very extended, of the *avatāra's dharma* sustaining activity. The *bhakti* plot, because it expresses a coherent semantic model, allows us to ascertain why certain ' anomolous ' Puranic type chapters have been inserted into the *Vism.* At first sight, judging from the stated views of Renou and Derrett, they appear puzzling, but their appearance is not anomolous if we

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

accept that the *bhakti* semantic has had a decisive role in shaping the material to be inserted into the narratives.

Finally, a judgement must be made as to whether the *Vism.* is a 'bridge' between Dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa or whether it is a Dharmaśāstra only. With the Purāṇas it shares common mythic plots, a common semantic frame and common contents. In respect of the latter it should be borne in mind that the Purāṇas themselves have a large dharmaśāstric component. Where it differs is that the dharmaśāstric component comprises ninety precent of the text, whereas this, as far as I am aware, is never the case in any of the extant Purāṇas. In addition its dharmaśāstric component corresponds closely with that of the other more traditional Dharmaśāstras.[21]. This alone should be sufficient to place it firmlly within the genre of Dharmaśāstra. I am inclined to see it as a Dharmaśāstra modified in such a way as to be acceptable to a certain group of Vaiṣṇavas as a text which could be genuinely considered a Vaiṣṇava text. If, as Jolly seems to think, a Vaiṣṇava redactor had added the mythic frame to the Dharmaśāstra component of the text, it may have been a redactor who consiciously (or even unconsciously ?) sought to re-style the *Vism.* as a Vaiṣṇava text roughly along the lines of a Purāṇa.[22] This is because the Purāṇic model which allows a juxtaposition of dharmaśāstric and mythic material, which is a characteristic of the Purāṇa genre, would allow the essentially dharmaśāstric character of the text to be retained whilst giving it a sufficiently impressive frame that would justify its title as the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*. Even so the *Vism.* is not a Purāṇa, but the features of it which most link it to the Purāṇic genre point to it being redacted by an editor who used the abstract model of the *bhakti* myth, which is itself one possible ordering grid of the texts of the extant Purāṇas, to produce this redaction.

---

21 Cf. the view of Jolly, *op. cit.* p. xii, "that the bulk of the so called Viṣṇu-Smṛti is really the ancient Dharmasūtra of the Kārāyaṇīya Kāthaka Sākhā of the Black Yajur-Veda (sic)".

22 ibid pp. xxvii–viii.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

A CRITIQUE OF THE TERMINOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA

By
D. D. SHARMA*

Introductory : Kauṭilya is one of those luminaries of ancient India of whom the country can be ligitimately proud enough. His *Arthaśāstra* is a landmark in the field of scientific contributions in Indian literature. Its importance as an outstanding work on the science of polity or public administration has been fully recognized the world over. But from the point of terminologies, too, it occupies an important place in Indian literature. For, in it the author has not only given us numerous technical terms relating to various sciences dealt with in this multidimensional monumental work, but also has preserved for the posterity numerous terms which had traditionally come down to him.

But before entering into the discussion of various terminological aspects of the *Arthaśāstra* it may not be inappropriate to say a few words about the importance of terminologies in the study of a scientific work, and of Kauṭilya as a terminologist.

Importance of the Knowledge of Terminologies : There cannot be two opinions on the point that a prime requisite for the proper understanding and exact interpretation of the text of a *śāstrīya* or scientific work is a thorough acquaintance with its technical terminologies and the semantic implications underlying them. The importance of it is specially increased where the work belongs to a period in distant past and contains new terms which were coined or used by the author for the first time to convey specific concepts.

It needs no mention that there are a number of technical terms relating to the science of polity or public administration which were for the first time coined or used by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*. Besides new terms, he has also used ordinary linguistic terms as technical terms by assigning them specific semantic connotations.

Moreover, a clear understanding of the composition and semantic implications of various technical terms of the *Arthaśāstra* is also important to understand the exact shades of meaning of those terms which have been often used by his successors in their works on technical and non-technical literature. During the

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept. December 1987 issue, pp. 35-46.

* Panjab University, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

course of the study of ancient Sanskrit literature one often comes across terms which either had become obsolete or had undergone considerable semantic change since the times of Kauṭilya. We notice that even long back the commentators of those works had to fall back upon the *Arthaśāstra* to find exact shades of meanings of these terms.

For instance, there are many terms from the *Arthaśāstra* which have been used by the poet Kālidāsa in his compositions, but many of them had already become obscure by the time the celebrated Sanskrit commentator, Mallinātha, wrote his commentaries on them. So to explain the exact connotations of these terms he had to seek assistance from the *Arthaśāstra* itself. A few of them may be illustrated as under :

(1) *abhiṣyanda vamana* : This term occurs in the *Raghu.* (XV. 29) and the *Kumāra.* (V. 37) in the same sense, viz. "increase in population" as we find it in the *Artha.* (II. 1.1)[1] There the commentator not only interpretes it in terms of the *Arthaśāstra*, but also, to authenticate his interpretation, quotes Kauṭilya by name.[2]

(2) *niyoga* and *vikalpa* : Both these terms occur in the *Raghu.* (XVII.49) in the same technical sense in which they were used by Kauṭilya in the *Artha,*[3] i.e. to denote "strategic alternative means'" to obtain wealth. Here, too, to explain the contextual technical meanings of these terms Mallinātha had to resort to the explanation of these terms offered by Kauṭilya.[4] Similarly there are many

---

1 (क) या सौराज्यप्रकाशाभिर्बभौ पौरविभूतिभिः ।
स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशिता ॥ रघु० 15.29
Mishra, Hargovinda, *Raghuvaṁśa* with Commentaries, Chokhamba Sanskrit Samsthan, Varanasi, 1961

(ख) अलकामतिबाह्यैव वसतिं वसुसम्पदाम् ।
स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशितम् ॥ कुमार० । 6.37
(Panashikar, V. L., *Kumārsambhava* with Comn, Nirnayasagar ed. 1927)
टीका—स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दो अतिरिक्तजनः तस्य वमनमाहरणं कृत्वा ।

2 अत्र कौटिल्य :—भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वं वा जनपदं परदेशप्रवाहेण स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् । अर्थ । 2.1.1.

3 रात्रिं दिवं विभागेषु यथादिष्टं महीक्षिताम् ।
तत् सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः ॥ रघु० 17.49 ।

4 गुरुलाघवयोगाच्चापदां नियोगविकल्पसमुच्चया भवन्ति ।
"अनेनैवोपायेन नान्येन" नियोगः ।
"अनेन वान्येन वा" विकल्पः । अर्थ० 9.7.83-85 ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

terms like *prakṛti vairāgya* (*Raghu.* XII. 55), *parābhisandhāna* (*ibid*, XVII. 81) etc. For the explanation of which Mallinātha has entirely depended on the *Arthaśāstra*, sometime quoting the text verbatum and sometime paraphrasing it.

Kauṭilya As a Terminologist : From the opening remarks of Kauṭilya, in the *Arthaśāstra*, it is quite evident that there were earlier works, too, on this subject on which the author of the present *Arthaśāstra* freely drew upon.[5] Besides, we know that there were many codified and uncodified *shastric* traditions ever since the Vedic period. In the composition of this multidimensional work Ācārya Kauṭilya must have drawn upon them as well for his terminologies. At present, though it may be difficult to say precisely about the quantum of terms that were drawn from older stocks and that which were coined by him, yet one can safely presume that at least the terms for which he was obliged to offer definitions or explanations were either entirely introduced by him or were used by him for the first time with added semantic loads.

From terms bearing the stamp of fresh coinage we can also see that, as a terminologist, Kauṭilya was conscious enough of the fact that the terms coined by him should be both, compact in form and potent enough to convey the desired sense. For, in the last chapter of his treatise he, explaining the relationship between a term (*pada*) and its meaning (*padārtha*), clearly states, "The sense which a word has to convey is its meaning, for example, with regard to the word *mūlahara* : whoever squanders the wealth acquired for him by his father and grandfather is a *mūlahara*, i.e. a prodigal son".[6] Looking from this angle of terminologies of the *Arthaśāstra* we find that there are hundreds of terms coined by Kauṭilya which clearly bear witness to this relationship of the word (term) and its meaning as illustrated by him.

Now, in the following pages we may discuss a few salient features of the terminologies of the *Arthaśāstra*. Regarding citations in these discussions it may be mentioned that all Sanskrit citations are based on the text of the *Arthaśāstra* published by M/s. Meharchand Lachman Das, Delhi (V. 2027) alongwith Hindi translation by Shri Udayavir Shastri and the English translation, though sparingly, on the Mysore edition of it (7th ed. 1961) by Dr. Shama Sastry.

Technical Terms Defined : The most important contribution of Kauṭilya as a terminologist is offering definitions and explanations, sometimes with illustrations, of various technical terms used by him, particularly with regard to terms

---

5 पृथिव्यालाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः ।
प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् । अर्थ० 1.1.1 ।

6 पदावधिकः पदार्थः 'मूलहरः' इति पदम् । "यः पितृपैतामहमर्थमन्यायेन भक्षयति स मूलहरः" इत्यर्थः । अर्थ० 2.9.24 ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

which either carried additional semantic load than that what is expressed by its componential elements or terms which were intended to convey specific meanings, besides their etymological meanings in their specific contexts. Moreover, it is also likely that he may have adopted the technique of offering definitions for older terms as well which he felt were not self sufficient to communicate the meaning or the associated aspect of it by themselves or were likely to be misunderstood by those who are not fully conversant with them. Now, of course, we can say with definiteness that this foresightedness of Kauṭilya has done a great service to the posterity. For, there was every possibility that the intended meanings of these terms would have become obscure for us today, as many of them have become, had he not cared to define them in specific terms. Happily, the number of such terms is the maximum in the *Arthaśāstra*. A few of these may be illustrated as follows :

(1) In Chapter XI of the Book I under the caption, 'The Institution of Spies' we notice that at the first instance he enumerates the various technical terms for different kinds of spies such as *Kāpaṭika* (fraudulent), *Udāsthita* (a recluse), *Gṛhapatika* (a house holder) *Vaidehaka* (a merchant), *Tāpasa* (an ascetic practising austerities), *Rasada* (a poisoner) and *Bhikṣuṇī* (a mendicant woman).[7] But realizing that the term itself is not enough to make home the forms and the functions of the spy concerned for whom the particular term stands, he subsequently offers definitions of each of them, e.g. 'A skilful person capable of guessing the mind of others is a fraudulent disciple' and so on.[8] Similarly, he thinks it necessary to explain the polysemantic term *Rasada* which can be interpreted in many ways. According to him, in this context the term *Rasada* is to be interpreted as 'Those who have no trace of filial affection left in them and who are very cruel and indolent'.[9] In Sanskrit one of the meanings of *rasa* is poison as well. The persons with above noted characteristics are capable of administering poison to any one, including their own kith and kin, hence they have been termed as *Rasadāḥ*. In the absence of the above given explanation this term could be interpreted for a physician as well.

In this very context we come across another polysemantic term *tīkṣṇa* which in the absence of its definition could be interpreted in any way. Visualising this probability, Kauṭilya, to make it specific, states, "such brave desperadoes

---

7 कापटिकौदास्थितगृहपतिवैदेहकतापसव्यंजनान् सत्रितीक्ष्णरसदभिक्षुकीश्च ।
अर्थ० 1.11.2

8 परमर्मज्ञः प्रगल्भः छात्रः कापटिकः । प्रव्रज्याप्रत्यवसितः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तः उदास्थितः । कर्षको वृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तो गृहपतिकव्यञ्जनः । वाणिजको वृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तो वैदेहकव्यंञ्जनः । आदि आदि । अर्थ० 1.16.3,6,12,14

9 ये बन्धुवु निःस्नेहाः क्रूराश्चालसाश्च ते रसदाः । इति । अर्थ० 1.12.4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of the country, who reckless of their own life, confront elephants or tigers in fight mainly for the purpose of earning money are termed fire brands or fiery spies ".[10]

What we have said (above) about the probability of offering explanations for certain terms may be evident from the following :

In the *Adhikaraṇa* 2, Chapter 6 we come across a *sūtra—Karaṇīyam siddham śeṣamāyavyayau nīvī ca* : which contains six terms, connected with the functions of the revenue officer. Here the author has left the two terms, viz. *āya* and *vyaya* unexplained because they were quite clear in their meaning, but thinks it necessary to explain the remaining four, e.g. the term *nīvī* according to Kauṭilya stands for " that amount or net balance which remains after deducting all expenditure already incurred and excluding all revenue to be realized or brought forward ".[11] (II. 6.27). Others too have been defined similarly. It is certain that in the absence of these explanations the intended meanings of the terms like *siddham, śeṣam*, etc. would have become totally obscure to us. This presumption can be supported from the unexplained terms enumerated in connection with the sources of income (*mūlam bhāgo vyājī parighaḥ klṛptam rūpikamatyaścāyamukham* II.V. 10). In this all but *vyājī* have been left undefined. The terms *mūla, bhāga* and *atyaya* are clear and continued to be used as such in later periods, but in the absence of their definition the terms *parighaḥ, rūpika* etc. have become obscure and are being rendered in different terms by different interpretors (see section obscurity). On the other hand, hundreds of terms like *anyajāta* (II. VI) carrying wide semantic load have remained intelligible to us with their exact connotations due to their definitions, available in the text of the *Arthaśāstra* itself.[12]

Similarly, in I, X, he has made it a point to explain in detail the four terms, viz. *dharmopadhā, arthopadhā, kāmopadhā* and *bhayopadhā* prescribed to test the honest and sincerity of a person to be appointed as minister.

In book II Ch. VIII he has elaborately defined all the eight terms coined in connection with the causes leading to deplete the treasury, e.g. *prayoga:* (loan) : Earning periodic interest to government money by lending it to a party; *vyavahāra* (trading): carrying on trade by making use of government money ete.[13]

---

10 ये जनपदे शूरास्त्यक्तात्मानो हस्तिनं व्यालं वा द्रव्यहेतोः प्रतियोधयेयुस्ते तीक्ष्णाः । अर्थ० 1,12.3

11 व्ययसंजातादायव्ययविशुद्धा नीवी । अर्थ० 2.6.27

12 नष्टप्रस्मृतमायुक्तदण्डः पार्श्वं पारिहीणिकमौपायनिकं डमरगतकखमपुत्रकं निधिश्चान्यजातः । अर्थ० 2.6.20 ।

13 कोशद्रव्याणां वृद्धिप्रयोगाः प्रयोगः । पण्यव्यवहारो व्यवहारः । ७ ।
सिद्धं कालमप्राप्तं करोत्यप्राप्तं प्राप्तं वेत्यवस्तारः । ९ । क्लृप्तमायं परिहापयति ।
व्ययं वा विवर्धयतीती परिहापणम् । ११ । स्वयमन्यैर्वा राजद्रव्याणामुपभोजनमुपभोगः । १३ ।
राजद्रव्याणामन्यद्रव्येणादान परिवर्तनम् । १५ । इत्यादि । अर्थ० 2.8.7,9,11,13,15

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In this context one can, however, safely presume that many of the terms for which Kauṭilya did not feel the necessity of offering any definition or explanation were quite common in his times. But, unfortunately, with the passage of time many of them went into disuse and as such became obscure to the posterity. It is here that we can appreciate the importance of giving definitions of technical terms by the terminologist himself. For it is he who can tell us precisely what underlying sense he intends to indicate by a particular technical term.

Aspect of Obscurity: It needs no mention that the *Arthaśāstra* is a multi-disciplinary encyclopaedic composition dealing with every aspect of administration, law and order, diplomancy, trade and commerce, etc. As such it is sure that the terminological contribution made by Kauṭilya in the field of social sciences will ever be acknowledged by scholars with a sense of gratitude. There are numerous terms, pertaining to these branches of knowledge which have been used in the *Arthaśāstra* and have been freely borrowed by ancient Indian writers on these and other subjects and a majority of them have come down to us as well. But what we wish to point out here is this that there are many terms which either in the absence of their explanations offered by Kauṭilya could not hold good in the same sense with the later writers in which they were used by him or became totally obsolete in the absence of their acceptance by the writers who flourished after him. As such in the absence of the knowledge of their underlying concepts, these have been interpreted in different terms by its commentators and translators. This may be illustrated by a few examples given below :

(i) *madanarasa:* This term occurs in I. XVIII. 10 (*madanarasa-yogenātisandhāyāpaharet*) which has been rendered as 'poison' by Dr. Shama Sastry and as 'medicines which induce unconsciousness' by Udayavir Shastri and as 'intoxicants' by Gairola, and so on.

(ii) *yogapāna* : This term occurs in I. XVII. 39. (*madyakāmam yoga-pānenodvejayeyuḥ*). Here too the term in question has been rendered as "liquor adulterated with narcotics" by Sastry, and as 'disgusting or unpalatable thing' by Udayavir Sastri and Gairola.

(iii) *gṛṣṭi* : This term occurs in II. 1.3 *nadīvanaśailagṛṣṭidari.* Here too the term has been rendered as "bulbous plant" by Sastry and as "the jujube tree (beri)" by Udayavir Shastri and Gairola.

(iv) *parigha* : This term occurs in II. VI, in connection with sources of income (*mūlam bhāgo vyājī parigha...āyamukham*). In this the term *parigha* has been left unexplained by the author, consequently it has been left untranslated (with a question mark) by Dr. Sastry and has been rendered as "unclaimed property" by Hindi translators.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(v) *rūpika* : It also occurs in the above passage and has not been explained by the author, consequently, Dr. Sastry renders it as " premia on coins " and U. V. Shastri and Gairola as " salt tax. "

(vi) *pradhāvitikā* and *niṣkuhadvāra* : Both these terms occur in II. III. 19. (*agrāhye deśe pradhāvitikām niṣkuhadvāram ca*), and have been left unexplained by the author. Consequently, Dr. Sastry, following the etymological meaning renders them as " passage for flight and door for exit ", but both the Hindi translators explaining their technical meaning translate them as ' a place of protection from arrows coming from outside (*pradhāvitikā*) ' and ' the hole made for shooting arrows from inside (*niṣkuhadvāra*) '.

(vii) *sannidhātā* : It occurs in II. V. (*Sannidhātā kośagṛham-bandhanāgāram ca kārayet*). Following its etymologic meaning, it has been rendered as ' Chamberlain, one who ever attends upon the king ' by Dr. Sastry, but as " treasurer " by both, U. V. Shastri and Gairola.

(viii) *ayuktadaṇḍa, pārśva, ḍamaragatakasvam,* all occurring in II. VI. 20. In the absence of any definition these terms have been rendered differently by Dr. Sastry and Udayavir Shastri (see. P. 60 and P. 124 respectively). Also see *anugraha* and *parihāra* (II. I. 16).[14]

(ix) The term *tīrtha* occurring in I. XII. 22 (*aṣṭādaśatīrtha*)[15] has been rendered as government departments " by Dr. Sastry, and as " government servants " by Udayavir Shastri.

(x) *Śapathavākyānuyoga* : This term has been used by Kauṭilya in the technical sense of " the trial of a criminal on oath, " but the author of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* uses it in the sense of " an improper oath ". Again the terms ' *yukta* and *ayukta* ' used by Kauṭilya in the sense of " a government official " and " other than the government official " respectively (also used by Ashoka in his inscriptions in this very sense) have been used by Yājñavalkya in the sense of ' proper ' (*yogya*) and ' improper ' (*ayogya*) and his commentator Vijñānabhikṣu also follows him. There are many more terms belonging to this class of terms which have been differently used or interpreted by later writers.

Obsolescence : Closely related to the aspect of obscurity is the aspect of obsolescence. There are many terms which ceased to be popular with later writers, hence became obsolete in due course of time. A few terms belonging to this class are :

(i) *yukta* a government official.

(ii) *ayukta* other than a government official

---

14 अनुग्रहपरिहारौ चैभ्यः कोशवृद्धिकरौ दद्यात् । अर्थ० 2.1.16 ।

15 एवं शत्रौ च मित्रे च मध्यमे चावपेच्चरान्
उदासीने च तेषां च तीर्थेष्वष्टादशस्वपि । अर्थ० 1.12.22 ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(iii) *upayukta*; a subordinate official
(iv) *tatpuruṣa* a servant
(v) *parigha* a tax; (vi) *rūpika* a tax
(vii) *niveśakālaḥ* time of remarriage
(viii) *ucchulka* toll tax.
(ix) *heḍa* displeasure, punishment, as in *heḍaprasāda* ' punishment and reward '.
(x) *antevāsī* immediate officer, as in *Samsthānamantevāsinaḥ* ' the immediate officers of the institute of espionage (I.XII) etc.

Specificatory Aspect : Another important aspect of the terminologies of Kauṭilya, which would place him among the first grade terminologists of antiquity, is the coinage of distinctive terms belonging to a particular class or category of them.

It is a well-known fact that specificatory terms, indicative of the specific aspect of an object partially differing in nature, form, quality or quantity from the rest of its class are the indicators of the very advanced stage of the language concerned, and in the *Arthaśāstra* we come across scores of instances in which this aspect of the terminologies is fully vindicated. For instance, (i) in book 2 chapter 30 seven specific categories of horses according to their sources have been enumerated, such as (1) *paṇyāgārikam* (those that are kept in sale house for sale), *krayopāgatam* (recently purchased), *āhavalabdham* (captured in wars), *ājātam* (local breed), *sahāyyakāgatam* (received in lieu of help rendered to some one), *paṇasthitam* (mortgaged), *yāvatkālikam* (temporarily kept in the stable).

(ii) Similarly, there are 5 terms for the physical sprendour of elephants. They have been classified into five groups on the basis of their tamability and the drills prescribed for them have been categorised as *samāvartana* (turning), *samyāna* (advancing), *vadhāvadha* (trampling down and killing), *hastiyuddha* (fighting with other elephants), *nāgarayaṇam* (assailing forts and cities).

(iii) In book 2 chapter 11 the author has classified the terms for necklaces on the basis of the number of their strings and the kind, quality and placement of different gems in them, e.g. differentiating the terms *ekāvalī*, *yaṣṭi* and *ratnāvalī* he states—the only string of pearls is called pure *ekāvali*, the same with a gem in the centre, is called *yaṣṭi*, the same variegated with gold globules is termed *ratnāvalī*, a string made of pearls and gold globules alternately put is called *aparāvartaka*, strings of pearls with a gold wire between two strings is called *sopānaka* etc.[16] Besides the distinctive terms for the superior varieties of gems, he

16 सूत्रमेकावली शुद्धा । सैव मणिमध्या यष्टिः । हेममणिचित्रा रत्नावली । हेममणिमुक्तान्तरोऽपवर्तकः । सुवर्णसूत्रान्तरं सोपानकम् । मणिमध्यं वा मणिसोपानकम् । अर्थ० 2.11. 22-27

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

has enumerated 18 varieties of inferior gems on the differentiating quality of their hues and shades (II. XI). Similarly, he has coined seven terms for gold on the basis of their origin, colour and quality (II. XIII). It may be interesting to note that different terms for gold. which are wrongly taken as synonyms for gold in general, stand for different varieties of it, according to terms defined by Kauṭilya (II. XIII).

There are a number of contexts in which a covering term has been split into a number of specificatory terms on account of their partial variation from one another. A classical example of this may be cited with reference to taxes to be realized from different sources. In this regard the most commonly attestable terms are (II. XV) :

(i) *piṇḍakara* : taxes collected from villages.
(ii) *ṣaḍbhāga* : taxes paid in the form of one-sixth of the produce.
(iii) *senābhakta* : taxes or provision realized from people for the army.
(iv) *bali* : taxes levied for religious purposes.
(v) *kara* : taxes paid in cash by vassal kings and others.
(vi) *utsaṅga* : taxes specially collected on the birth of a prince.
(vii) *pārśva* : marginal revenue.
(viii) *kauṣṭheyaka* : taxes levied on land below tank, lake etc. made by the state.
(ix) *parihīnaka* : compensation levied for any damage.
(x) *gulmadeya* : tax payable at military stations.
(xi) *taradeya* : taxes paid for ferrying.
(xii) *vartanī* : road cess.
(xiii) *ativāhika* : conveyance cess.
(xiv) *śulka* : toll tax.
(xv) *klṛptam* : fixed taxes to be paid by villages on seashores or banks of rivers.

Also note specificatory terms, for envoys with definitions (I. XVI) and for royal writs on the basis of their contents and foms (II. X) or forms of negotiations (*ibid.*).

Similarly, in II. 25.17 he has specified six kinds of wines by assigning different terms to them, differentiated by their ingradients and methods of extraction etc.[17]

Contextually Definable Terms : Opposed to specificatory terms there are a number of homophonous terms in the *Arthaśāstra* which are to be defined in different terms in different contexts. In these the basic requirement of a technical

---

17 मेदकप्रसन्नासवारिष्टमैरेयमधूनामुदकद्रोणं तण्डुलानामर्धाढकं त्रयः प्रस्थाः किण्वस्येति मेदकप्रयोगः । इत्यादि । अर्थ० 2.25.17

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

term, viz. 'one term one concept' and 'uniformity in meaning' of a term, has not been followed strictly. In the study of the *Arthaśāstra* we come across many such terms which in different contexts undergo a sea of change in their meanings. For instance, the term *rāṣṭra* in the context of revenue (II. VI. 3) indicates " production from crown land (*sītā*), portion of produce payable to the government (*bhāga*), religious taxes (*bali*), taxes paid in money (*kara*), merchants, the superintendents of rivers; ferries, boats and ships, town pasture grounds, road cess (*vartanī*) ropes (*rajju ?*) and ropes to bind thieves (*corarajju*) (It may be a kind of tax realized from villagers for their protection from thieves). But in II. XV. 3 the subjects indicated by these terms are : 'the taxes to be realized from villages (*piṇḍakara*), taxes that are paid in the form of one-sixth of production (*saḍbhāga*), provision paid (by the people) for the army (*senābhakta*), taxes that are levied for religious purposes (*bali*), taxes and subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others (*kara*), taxes that are specially collected on the occassion of the birth of a prince (*utsaṅga*), taxes that are collected when there is some margin left for such collection (*pārśva*), compensetion levied in the shape of grains for any damage done by cattle to crops, (*parihīnaka*), presentation made to the king (*aupāyanika*), and taxes that are levied on lands, below tanks, lakes etc. built by the king (*kauṣṭheyaka*), all these come under the head " Rāṣṭrīya ". A comparision of these two definitions makes it clear that the items enumerated in them differ in many respects from one another.

Similarly, in II. XV. 83 in the context of *vīṣṭi* the term *dāpaka* stands for 'the person who suppervises the supply of commodities to the store-house " and *dāyaka* for " the person who supplies the commodities ", but in II. VIII. 63, in the context of finance these indicate " the person who causes the payment " and " the payer " respectively.

In the same way, the term *tīrtha* denotes " a government department or officials " (*aṣṭādaśatīrtha*, I. XII 22), but in I. XIII. 2 it denotes the usual sense of 'places of pilgrimage'.

There are a number of terms which, in the absence of their context either do not indicate any thing or can indicate any object or concept related to their derivative or componential elements, e.g. *agnisamyogaḥ*. The simple meaning of it could be 'to put to fire, to burn, etc.' but in the context of arms it stands for " explosives ", so on and so forth.

Conventionality : There are a good number of terms which do not conform to their etymological sense, i.e. which are incoherent to the meanings obtainable from their components. All these terms seem to have come down to him through convention (*rūḍhi*) and were accepted by him in their popular sense. But in such cases he was quite particular to offer their conventional definitions, because his keen eye could foresee that in the absence of this the meanings of these terms

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

would not remain intelligible to people for long, because of their deficient etymological constructions. Today we can say with certainty that he was perfectly right in his conjucture. For, we know that in the absence of their definitions a number of terms of the *Arthaśāstra* have already become obscure to us (see section of obscurity).

The best examples of this type of terms can be seen in Book II Chapter III. There are a number of terms in connection with the construction of fort which stand for certain conventional meanings, as opposed to their elymological meanings, e.g. *Indrakośa*: explaining the structure and location of this in the suprastructure of a fort, he states—" Between the lower and the broad street there shall be constructed an *Indrakośa* which is made up of covering pieces of perforated wooden planks affording seats for three archers ". (II. 111.16).[18] *Devapatha*: The context is the same as above (II. III. 17). About this it has been stated that there shall be made *devapatha* which shall measure two *hastas* inside (the *Indrakośa*) four times as much by the side and eight *hastas* along the parapet.[19]

Common Linguistic Terms used as Technical Terms :

Another notable aspect of the terminologies of Kauṭilya is that he picks up ordinary linguistic terms and ameliorates them to the status of technical terms, but in all such cases care has been taken to see that they are not confused with their lexical meanings. For this he has been particular enough to explain, then and there, the specific meaning intended by them.

Moreover, at one point he himself makes it clear that though the lexical or etymological meaning of a term may have a different connotation, yet it can be used to convey a specific restricted sense in the context of the *Arthaśastra*. There citing the example of the term *Śāsana* ' command ' he says that in the context of this work it will be applicable to the royal writs only (*śāsane śāsanemityācakṣate* II. 10.1).

Notable examples of restricting the meaning of a word to its technical sense are attested in various terms enumerated with regard to causes leading to deplete the treasury of the state. These are—*pratibandha, prayoga, vyavahāra, avastāra, parihāpana, upabhoga, parivartana* and *upahāra* (II.8). Basically, all these terms are totally non-technical and can be used as such in any context. But here the author while employing them as technical terms makes it a point to explain to the reader the specific semantic significance assigned to them by mim. We may reproduce the same as under :

Pratibandha : The ordinary dictionary meaning of this term is " obstruction ", but explaining the form and scope of obstruction as intended by it as a

18 अट्टालकप्रतोलीमध्ये त्रिधानुष्काधिष्ठानं सापिधानच्छिद्रफलकसंहतमिति न्द्रकोशं कारयेत् । अर्थ० 2.3.16

19 अन्तरेषुं द्विहस्तविष्कम्भं पार्श्वे चतुर्गुणायाममनुप्राकारमष्टहस्तायतं देवपथं कारयेत् । अर्थ० 2.3.17

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

technical term of the *Arthaśastra* he states—failure to start an undertaking, or to realize its results, or to credit its profits (to the treasury) is known as *pratibandha*.

Prayoga : The normal lexical meaning of this term is 'use, application employment', but in this context it has been used in the sense of 'utilization' investment etc'. According to its definition given here it stands for 'lending or investing money of the treasury (for ones private gains)'.

Vyavahāra : Lexically, this polysemantic term denotes, besides 'conduct or action', the sense of 'a transaction, commerce, dealing in mony etc.' but here this term has been given the sense of 'trading' i.e. making use of the government money for private trading.

All the other terms enumerated above have been similarly explained of their semantic implication as technical terms in this context.[20]

Similarly, in book II Ch. 6 in the context of the duties of the collector-general (*Samāhartā*) he states - the collector general shall attend to collection of revenue from *durga, rāṣṭra khani, setu, varṇa vraja* and *vāṇikpatha*. Here too, most of the above noted terms have their limited conventional meanings, but the meanings intended by the author of the *Arthaśastra* are widely different from their conventional or lexical meanings. But as usual in this case, too, to avoid confusion, he has explained the specific meanings of each of the term assigned to it in the context concerned (II.6. 1-8).

Besides, we may also refer to terms like *nāyaka* a constable, *paura* officer-in-charge of the city, *gopā* officer-in-charge of a group of villages, *nāgaraka* city superintendent etc.

Semantic change : It is but natural that during past two thousand years or so a number of terms have undergone semantic changes of various degrees. Consequently, while studying the A.S. one comes across a number of instances in which it becomes difficult to reach the exact meaning of them. As such, a systematic analysis and identification of original meanings of these terms too is a task worth undertaking by scholars.

Textual Criticism : Another important aspect which needs immediate attention of scholars is settlement of the text of the A.S. For, in recent years the discovery of some manuscripts, with valuable commentaries, has brought to light that there are a number of places, including technical terms, in which the text shows variant readings. As such preparation of a critical edition, with authentic readings, is an urgent step to be taken by experts in textual criticism.

At the end it may be said that though quite a good amount of exploration has already been done with regard to various aspects of the A.S., yet there is still a lot to be done in the direction of the terminologies of it.

---

20 See foot-note No. 13

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

A BRIEF CONSPECTUS OF STUDIES ON TUN-HUANG TRANSFORMATION TEXTS

By
VICTOR H. MAIR*

Around the turn of the century, a stupendous hoard of manuscripts was discovered in a walled-up cave at Tun-huang[a] in Kansu province of remote northwest China. Among the more than 40,000 items removed from the cave was a small group of manuscripts, about two dozen in number, that represent the only extant *pien-wen*[b] ("transformation texts"). Transformation texts are extremely important because they are the first vernacular, prosimetric (*chantefable*) narratives written in Chinese.

The study of *pien-wen* began in 1916 with the publication of Kanō Naoki's "Materials for Research on the History of Chinese Popular Literature".[1] Wang Kuo-Wei[c] and Lo Chen-yü[d] who initiated *pien-wen* studies in China, had both been to Japan where their attention was drawn to this subject by Kanō's investigations.[2] But in spite of this early beginning, *pien-wen* studies may still be said to be in their relative infancy.[3] There is yet no satisfactory understanding of the meaning of the word *pien-wen* agreed on by a majority of scholars; the corpus has not been adequately defined; few translations have been made; annotations and commentaries are virtually non-existent; the historical development has not been clarified; the social and religious sitting has not been thoroughly investigated; the relationship to Indian storytelling has not been examined; and so on. Given the fact that *pienwen* is now generally recognized by historians of Chinese litera-

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept.–December, 1987 issue, pp. 47-53.

* Oriental Studies Department, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305 U.S.A.

1 Kanō Naoki[h], "Shina zokubun gakushi kenkyū no zairyō [Materials for the History of Chinese Popular Literature]"[i] parts 1 and 2, *Geibun* [*Literature*][j] 7.1 (January, 1916), 104-109 and 7.3 (March 1916), 95-102; also in *Shinagaku bunsō* [*Collection of Essays on Chinese Studies*][k] (Tokyo: Kōbundō shobō, 1930), pp. 381-398.

2 For relevant publications by Wang and Lo, see the bibliographical references mentioned in note 5.

3 Compare Kanaoka Shoko's[l] remārks in "Mokuren henbun [Maudgalyāyana *pin-wen*]"[m] *in Chūgoku no meicho* [*Famous Works of Chinese Literature*] (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1961), 132-139.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ture to represent a crucial phase in the development of popular genres,[4] the state of the field leaves much to be accomplished. In a series of publications[5] resulting from research carried out over the past decade and more, I have attempted to make a contribution toward the furtherance of our knowledge of these and other aspects of transformation texts. This short article is meant to serve as a concluding report to this long-term project.

Several facts about transformation texts have become clear during the course of these researches. On the basis of evidence available to us from the Tun-huang manuscripts, the structural pattern of transformation texts is found to be highly consistent. It includes, as its primary identifying characteristics, the alternation between prose and verse (normally rhymed and heptasyllabic); the unique pre-verse formula; and an episodic narrative pattern. The essential relationship of transformations to pictures has also been brought out. It is furthermore clear from the available evidence (e.g., colophons on manuscripts S2614 and PK876) that the lay students who were attached to various temples and monasteries in Tun-huang served as the usual copyists of transformation texts. This is perfectly understandable, since they would have been among the more literate members of the community and hence comparatively well qualified

---

4 See, for example, Paul Demiéville, "Les débuts de la littérature en Chinois vulgaire,", *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* (November-December, 1952), 563-571; the same author's "Tun-huang Texts," *in Dictionary of Oriental Literatures*, Vol. I : *East Asia*, ed. Zbigniew Slupski, under the general editorship of Jaroslav Prusek (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 185-187; and Victor H. Mair and Marsha Wagner, "Tun-huang wen-hsüeh [Literature]," in William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 829-832.

5 *Tun-huang Popular Narratives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); *T'ang Transformation Texts: Buddhist Contributions to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard-Yenching Monograph Series, forthcoming [1988]); *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation, Its Indian Genesis, and Analogues Elsewhere* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming [1988]); "Lay Students and the Making of Written Vernacular Narrative: An Inventory of Tun-huang Manuscripts", *Chinoperl Papers*, 10 (1981), 5-96; and "The Narrative Revolution in Chinese Literature: Ontological Presuppositions," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 5.1 (July, 1983), 1-27. Also see the bibliographical references in these works and my "A Partial Bibliography for the Study of Indian Influence on Chinese Popular Literature," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 3 (March, 1987) [iv + 214 pp.] for additional publications on the subject.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

for the task. It is, however, obvious to anyone who examines the manuscripts that they were still learning and that their accuracy may have been limited by the fact that they were transcribing from sources ultimately linked to oral performance. It is also understandable that individuals attached to the temples and monasteries would have been called upon to transcribe folk and popular Buddhist literature since it was here that the performers were likely to have gathered often during fairs and other religious gatherings. The lay students would have been particularly well suited for the purpose of copying down these performances as best they could since they, like the performers themselves, straddled the religious and secular worlds.

Another aspect of transformation texts that I have tried to illuminate is whether they should be classified as a form of evangelism or a type of entertainment. In spite of the fact that nearly all students of Chinese popular literature equate or connect the two very closely, it is apparent that popular lectures (*su-chiang*)[6] and transformation texts were quite different phenomena. A popular lecture was a religious service conducted by a monk to edify and instruct his auditors in matters pertaining to Buddhist doctrine. Transformation texts were written narratives which derived from oral picture storytelling performances of folk entertainers. Some transformation texts had overtly religious content, but others were wholly secular.

I have also attempted, in these studies, to account for the relative paucity of literary and archeological evidence for transformation performances. In the first place, even in a climate highly favorable to the religion they represent, popular literary texts and picture scrolls are hard to find. For example, in Indonesia, where storytelling with pictures (*wayang bèbèr*) was still current at the end of the last century, only two or three dozen scrolls survive. There are several reasons for this. Among them is the fact that the owner of a picture scroll keeps it for professional purposes. Such scrolls are very sacred and highly *private*. They belong to a single individual or single family who uses them repeatedly in performance so that they quickly become tattered and torn. In India, it is usually the practice to destroy through burning or sinking in a river or pond such venerable but no longer serviceable objects. Once the lineage of performers dies out, the scrolls disappear—except in this century when there have been numerous collectors interested in and committed to the preservation of folk and popular culture.

Popular written literature, in the past, has not survived well primarily because those who were wealthy enough to collect manuscripts did not consider them worthy of preservation. A man owns certain books or manuscripts. When he dies, they would probably be turned over to his sons, but perhaps the sons would not be interested in keeping them or the family would break up. It is easy to see how, in one or two generations, an informal collection could be

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

utterly lost. But in China there is a more important reason for the swift disappearance of popular Buddhist literature : the determined and active hostility of the Confucian elite toward it. The preface to the *Imperially Commissioned Complete Prose of the Tang* stands as a devastating self-indictment of such practices. Here, among other confessions of bigotry, we read that " As for the essays, spells, *gāthās*, hymns, and such like of the Buddhists and Taoists, we have completely excised them in order to prevent the spread of depravity and to correct the minds of men ".[6] The guardians of respectability have been monstrously successful in systematically destroying much of China's past. The persistenee throughout Chinese history of such a mentality and its pernicious effects make the Tun-huang manuscripts inestimably precious. For through them we can get a glimpse of how the common man lived in the T'ang period and what he believed. In this vein, it is ironic that, to learn about Chines popular culture before this century, we are so often obliged to travel to Japanese temples, museums, and libraries, not to mention the deserts of Central Asia.

During the course of my researches, I have developed the idea of the basic unity of fiction and drama in China that is due to certain pan-Asian literary phenomena. If we admit that all Central, East, and Southeast Asian prosimetric traditions of dramatic narrative owe something basic to Indian storytelling,[7] then it is no longer surprising that there are so many resemblances between drama and fiction in such widely separated places as China, Japan, Indonesia, Thailand, and Turkestan. For at the center of all these traditions was the storyteller, and often he was a picture storyteller. The process of the evolution of Asian drama and fiction from picture storytelling is encapsulated in the Indian tradition known as *harikathā*.[8] The name literally means " story of the Lord " but the tradition is no longer confined to religious tales. The role of the *harikathā* storyteller is vividly described by Milton Singer. " Harikathā is a kind of concentrated drama, a mono-drama, in which one gifted actor enters swiftly a whole series of characters, moods, and manners. "[9] The same might well have been said of the *wayang bèbèr* dalang (" shaman-narrator ") and of the forgotten performers of *pien*. It was from these talented fabulists that both the dramatists and fiction writers of the eastern half of Asia descended.

---

6 Tung Kao[o] (1740-1818), *et al., ed., Ch'in-ting ch'üan T'ang wen* [*Imperially Commissioned Complete Prose of the T'ang*][p] (Taipei: Hui-wen shu-chü, 1961: photoreproduction of 1814 ed.), preface, 4b-5a.

7 Cf. Mair, " The Contributions of Transformation Texts to Late Chinese Popular Literature " (forthcoming).

8 Shyam Parmar, *Traditional Folk Media in India* (New Delhi: Geka 1975), p. 41.

9 " Urbanization and Culture Change, " in his *When a Great Tradition Modernizes* (New York: Praeger, 1972), p. 170.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In a scientific spirit, I should like therefore to propose the following hypothesis in order to account for some noticeable features of the theater in Asia. Drama, at least in South, South-East, and East Asia, has its roots (or, more precisely, some of them) in the explanations of pictures of a narrative nature. I posit an evolutionary progression from picture storytelling, through shadows, puppets, and human puppets to genuine human drama.[10] This hypothesis does not deny or overlook the existence of other types of early thaumaturgical and terpsichorean performances. It is only intended to describe the usual development of *dramatic narrative* in the areas where it is held to be applicable. The hypothesis will surely be modified and refined as it is subjected to the criticism of scholars upon whose specialities it touches. But the available evidence does seem to point to the need, in the study of Asian fiction and drama, for a unified narrative and dramatic theory.

Although there are works which may be more or less dramatical in nature and those which may be more or less narrational, the two modes are largely

---

10 Cf. Georg Jacob, " Die Entwickelung des Schattentheaters, " *Mitteilungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Literatur- und Theater*, 7.1 (Kiel, 1929), 14 [of 3-16]. This view has recently received support from A Botsford, " The Inter-Relationship of Traditional Picture Storytelling Methods and Shadow Puppetry in India, " quoted by Anna Libera Dallapiccola, *Die "Paithan"-Malerei: Studie Zu Ihrer Stilistischen Entwicklung und Ikonographie*, Heidelberg Universität Südasien-Institute Schriftenreihe, 28 (Wiesbaden Franz Steiner, 1980), p. 18n2:

> Shadow puppets may have been used as " pouncings " for pictures. This seems the more likely in view of the fact that the *Chitrakars* [" painters "] of Bengal have endogamous practices with the *Mochis* (tanners) of that area. The *Mochi* in Bengal also provide the bristles for the paint brushes to the pat [" picture scroll used by storytellers "]-making *Chitrakara*... Therefore the association of *Mochis* and *Chitrakathis* [" picture storytellers] in Maharashtra, though not specifically mentioned in the Gazetteers, was probably not unusual during the time when their art was in favour. By making leather patterns for repeated pictures, one of the picture showmen may have been inspired to use leather patterns themselves in performance situations.
>
> When we look at the older and simpler leather puppets of Pinguli, Mysore and elsewhere, we see small puppets, not articulated; frequently they represent groups of people, including scenery and houses. In a word they are *pictures*, rather than individual puppet actors...
>
> It seems plausible enough that the art of story telling and ballading with illustrations—whether rolling scrolls, large hangings or series of pictures, is a necessary antecedent to the development of the leather shadow-puppet show in India.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

inseparable in China and elsewhere in Asia. They are organically related by virtue of the common origin of certain basic characteristics which they share. These are, among others, prosimetric form and episodic structure. The common origin which impressed these essential features both on popular Chinese fiction and on drama is that of storytelling, specifically folk Buddhist storytelling (often with pictures). Naturally, Chinese fiction and drama have taken shape under the influence of numerous other factors, both native and foreign. The frequent resort to parallel, euphistic prose must surely be regarded as a thoroughly Chinese impulse. On the other hand, many of the tunes utilized as dramatic cantos came neither from the Chinese nor the Buddhist (i.e. Indian) tradition but from North, Central, and Southeast Asian lands. Thus it would be simplistic to assert that either popular fiction or drama in China came whole cloth from any single source. Many elements were involved in the growth of Chinese popular literature. The purpose of these studies has been to examine in depth one crucial stage in that development, the transformation text.

The perceived confluence of the Indian and Chinese traditions in transformation texts has revealed important differences in the basic philosophical presuppositions of these two major civilizations. The concept of mind, will, Godhead, or what have you, as Creator of the universe, was quite alien to China. There existence was viewed as process (the interaction between and shifts of forces and phases—*yin-yang*[f], *chi*[j], *wu-hsing*[g]). This is true both of Chinese cosmology and, to the extent that it is adumbrated in traditional Chinese thought, ontology as well. As such, China has not burdened itself with the ultimate philosophical and mythological problem of creation—how the universe came into being and why the world exists. The understanding of the origin and growth of the universe in China is thus, an evolutionary one that is in keeping with the general organismic pattern of thought there. This orientation is also evident in linguistic situations. The dispensability of the grammatical (and even logical) subject in a Chinese sentence reflects a habit of thought which sees the universe and its constituent components as being in a perpetual process of evolution. No external agency is required to actuate or control this process; no subject is required to initiate an action or change (i.e. predication). This has had a profound effect on all aspects of life including literature. In India, on the other hand, and in the Middle-East, almost the exact opposite obtains for many of these concepts. Hence there is the possibility of *creatio ex nihilo* in the Indian tradition (by mind) and in the Judaeo-Christian tradition (by a divine maker). By such factors is the shape of literature, especially fiction and fantasy, determined.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Tetragraphs (fang-k'uai-tzu 方塊字) for
"A Brief Conspectus of Studies on Tun-huang Transformation Texts"

a. 敦煌

b. 變文

c. 王國維

d. 羅振玉

e. 俗講

f. 陰陽 f'. 氣

g. 五行

h. 狩野直喜

i. 支那俗文學史の材料

j. 藝文

k. 支那學文藪

l. 金岡照光

m. 目連變文

n. 中國の名著

o. 董誥

p. 欽定全唐文

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

JOURNAL
OF THE
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Editor : **R. T. Vyas**

The JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA is a Quarterly, published in the months of September, December, March and June every year.

SPECIAL FEATURES :

Articles on Indology, Vedic studies, textual and cultural problems of the Rāmāyaṇa, Epics & Purāṇas, notices of Manuscripts, reviews of books, survey of contemporary Oriental Journals and the rare works forming the Maharaja Sayajirao University Oriental Series, are some of the special features of this Journal.

CONTRIBUTORS TO NOTE :

1. Only typewritten contributions will be accepted. A copy should be retained by the author for any future reference, as no manuscript will be returned.
2. In the body of the article non-English stray words/Sanskrit/Prakrit line/verse must be written either in *Devanāgari* or in transliteration with proper diacritical marks.
3. The source of citations/statements of any authority quoted should be invariably mentioned in the footnotes which must be written in the following order : (1) surname, initials of the author or editor, (2) title of the work, (underlined), (3) publisher, (4) place and year of publication and (5) page No.
4. Whenever an abbreviation is used in an article, its full form should be stated at the first occurrence and should not be repeated.
5. Give running foot-note numbers from the beginning to the end of the article.
6. The copyright of all the articles published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute will rest with the M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES : ANNUAL :

Inland Rs. 30/- (Post-free), Europe £ 3.00 (Post-free)
U.S.A. $ 10.00 (Post-free)

Subscription is always payable in advance. The yearly subscription is accepted from September to August every year. No subscription will be accepted for less than a year. Subscription/Articles may be sent to :—

The Director, Oriental Institute, Tilak Road, Opp. Sayajigunj Tower, Vadodara-390 002, Gujarat, India.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ŚIṢYAHITAIṢIṆĪ
A JAINA COMMENTARY ON MEGHADŪTA

By

SATYA VRAT*

The recent edition of Lakṣmīnivāsa's *Śiṣyahitaiṣiṇī*[1] marks the latest addition to the plethora of Commentaries on *Meghadūta* that attest to its wide currency and popularity, down the years. As evidenced by the pre-colophon verses, Lakṣmīnivāsa was a Jaina monk of the rank of *Vācaka*. A pupil of Ratnaprabha Sūri of the *Bṛhadgaccha*, he is recorded to have completed the commentary in V. S. 1574 (1457 A.D.) at Mahimanagar. The nomenclature of the Commentary would suggest that the author undertook to resolve Kālidāsa's text with a view to serve the needs of the pupils, ordained in his monastic order. Howsoever worthy the aim, Lakṣmīnivāsa does not measure well up to the task and his gloss miserably fails to meet the intended purpose. In all essentials, he seems to have been an illequipped person who undeservedly clothed himself in the role of a scholiast. His poor equipment is acutely evident from the fact that contrary to even the most aberrations commentator, he has neither referred to nor quoted from any work, known or unknown, on rhetorics, erotics, grammar, lexicography etc., nor has he drawn upon the vast commentatorial literature, which combine to make it rather impossible to unravel the poetic beauties of the text, or to determine the relevance of a corpus of tricky phrases or to underscore the validity of defiant variants. Of the four *Sūtras* he has quoted in the body of his commentary, two are mauled beyond recognition; all the four being so banal as not to have been lost to even a novice. Thus incapable of whipping to advantage the available trappings, Lakṣmīnivāsa has sunk into cussed isolation, much in the manner of a *kūpamaṇḍūka*. His *Ṭikā* is thus reduced to bare paraphrase of the text, with the author first dealing with the principal clause, followed by other dependent phrases; against the *anvayamukhapaddhati* of Mallinātha. It would be rather a misnomer to lebel the *Śiṣyahitaiṣiṇī* as commentary. It adds up to a brief gloss (*mitā pañjikā*), aimed at extorting something out of a text that is scarcely amenable to such poor trickery.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2. Sept.-December, 1987 issue, pp. 55-64.

*Deptt. of P. G. Studies in Sanskrit, Govt. College, Sri Ganganagar (Raj.)

1 Ed. Rohiṇī Bhaṭṭa, *Sambodhi*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1-4. p. 1-48. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The gloss on the very first verse serves to bring into relief his incompetence as a commentator. In a bid to parade his acquaintance with Indian topo-graphy, Lakṣmīnivāsa has landed himself into absurdity by identifying *Rāmagiri* with *Daṇḍakāraṇya*. Be that as it may, most of Kālidāsa's commentators including the famed Mallinātha have grievously fumbled in locating the hill, with some of the enlightened editors not discounting the possibility of its having been as "imaginary as the mythical Alakā".[2] Mallinātha identified it with *Citrakūṭa*, which, though erroneous, is not as offensive as *Mālyavān* that Divākara had the temerity to treat but another appellation of *Rāmagiri* on the specious plea that the yakṣa took up abode there in the hope that like Rāma he too would be united with his spouse. Little did Divākara realise that his contention runs counter to the adjectival clause *Janakatanayāsnānapuṇyodakeṣu*, subsequently employed in the verse and also to the temporary nature of yakṣa's exile. Kṛṣṇa-pati's defence of the identification with a jibe at Śaśvata, who disputed it, albeit weakly,[3] is misplaced. Bharata-mallika's observation '*kintu tatra mālyavati sasītasya rāmasyānavasthānāt janakatanayāsnānapuṇyodakeṣviti viśeṣaṇam na ghaṭate*",[4] on the other hand, brings out convincingly the untenability of Divākara's interpretation. It is a tribute to Wilson's acumen that his conjectural identification of *Rāmagiri* with *Rāmaṭeka*, about 24 miles to the north of Nagpur, is upheld, according to V. V. Mirashi, by an inscription of Pravarasena II.[5] In view of this overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Lakṣmīnivāsa's equating of *Rāmagiri* with *Daṇḍakāraṇya* smacks of naiveté.

Lakṣmīnivāsa's paraphrase of *Varṣabhogyeṇa* in the same verse as *varṣam yāvad bhujyate varṣabhogyastena*, is as it should be. However, the alternative interpretation needlessly offered by him (*varṣam bhāratam kṣetram tatra bhujyate* .) is childish to the extreme. The yakṣa could not have been imprecated to suffer exile anywhere else but *Bhāratavarṣa*. Or had the Jaina monk discovered Rāmagiri in some foreign land as well ?

Verse Five is meant to underline the wide divergence between an efficient errand-bearer and the cloud, chosen by yakṣa for the purpose; and also the latter's predicament, at the moment that led him to offer an apology for the defective nature of the device[6] which incidentally evoked reserved acceptance from such an unsparing critic as Bhāmaha.[7] The phrase *paṭukaraṇaih*, used

---

2 De S. K. (ed.), *The Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, Delhi, 1957, P. 113.

3 Bhaṭṭācārya G. M. (ed.), *Meghadūta-ṭīkā* of Kṛṣṇapati, Kurukṣetra, 1974, p. 2.

4 Ibid, p. 2, F.N. 2.

5 De S. K. (ed), *The Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, op. cit, p. 113.

6 *Kāmārtā hi prakṛtikṛpaṇāścetanācetaneṣu || Meghadūta*, 5.

7 Sharma Devendranātha (ed), *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, Patna, 1985, I. 42-43.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

in the verse, though unmistakable in its import, has been invested with a veneer of ambiguity by the commentator with his imprecise gloss thereon : *paṭukaraṇaiḥ sakalendriyaiḥ . .. na durbuddhibhiḥ.* Though Lakṣmīnivāsa's *sakalendriyaiḥ* may ultimately melt into Mallinātha's *samarthendriyaiḥ*,[8] it misses the fact that even an able-bodied person may make a hopeless courier. It is not the physical stoutness (*sakalendriyatā*) of the messenger but his competence (*samarthendriyatā*) that is sought to be emphasised here. Mallinātha's paraphrase is intended to focus on this aspect of the messenger's equipment. Kṛṣṇapati also interprets the clause in much the similar way. If, however, *sakalendriyaiḥ* is meant to contrast with *durbuddhibhiḥ* with its implication as *subuddhibhiḥ*, then no offence would possibly be taken against it.

Verse Ten underscores the efficacy of hope in sustaining a love-lorn heart that is otherwise susceptible to a variety of strains not precluding its ultimate breakdown. The commentator, as is evident from his gloss, seems to read *sadyaḥpāta-praṇayi* in preference to admittedly the superior reading *sadyaḥpāti praṇayi-hṛdayam*. While Lakṣmīnivāsa is entitled to his judgement in opting for the variant in the text, his interpretation thereof is outrageous. Not only is it marred by wilful transposition of a word that actually belongs to the subsequent compound, it is also an exercise in futility in as much as *sadyaḥpāti* conveys the intended sense better than the grotesque *sadyaḥpāta-praṇayi*. It addedly demonstrates the commentator's inability to discern the relevance of *praṇayi-hṛdayam*, in the context. The poet evidently means to stress the fact that the emotionally surcharged heart of a lover is more disposed to sufferings, in case there is no hope to sustain it.

Lakṣmīnivāsa's rendering of *māla*, that occurs in Verse Sixteen, as a cluster of forests between villages (*grāmāntarāṭavīnām saṁgraḥ*) lacks sanction and is at odd with the context. In giving a multeity of meanings,[10] Kṛṣṇapati also seems to be juggling with the word. Mallinātha treats it as a name of an elevated plateau that resembled a hillock in its shape and backs up his interpretation with the lexicon *Utpalamālā* (*mālam-unnatabhūtalam*). Sir A. Stein has rendered it as "an alluvial plateau," which is not far removed from Mallinātha's paraphrase. *Māla* doubtless seems to have been a hill-like elevation. The cloud is required to mount it which by itself implies it to have been a place higher than the flat ground. In view of it, Lakṣmīnivāsa's rendering of the term seems to be no better than a thoughtless comment.

---

8 Saṁsāracandra and Pant Mohandev (eds), *Meghadūta* with Mallinātha's *Saṁjīvinī*, Benares, 1951, V. 5.

9 *Meghadūtaṭīkā*, op. cit, V. 5.

10 *deśabhedam kṣetrabhedam vā girisīmānam vā*, Kṛṣṇapati, op. cit., p. 13.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

A simple word like *pūrṇatā* in Verse Twenty (*pūrṇatā gauravāya*) also poses difficulty to our commentator. His interpretation of the term as *dhanāḍhyatā* is shorn of aptness. He is surprisingly supported by Kṛṣṇapati who also paraphrases it as *dhanavattā*. In confining *pūrṇatā* to affluence, both the commentators miss the true significance of the *arthāntaranyāsa* in the verse. Since it is projected as a counterpoise to *riktatā*, it surely denotes much more than riches. Emptiness accounts for lightness. Fullness, on the other hand, imparts heaviness. It is fullness or *sāravattā*, as Mallinātha puts it, that is the sense intended here.

Verse 2 : (*ambhobindugrahaṇa-caturān* etc.), believed to be spurious but commented upon by Mallinātha, again brings out the commentator's lack of critical acumen and his garbled understanding of the text. It is patently absurd on his part to treat *āliṅgitāni* in the second hemistich as an object to *mānayiṣyanti* and tag on *tvām* to *āsādya*, while the only sensible *anvaya*, as Mallinātha does it, could have been as follows : *āliṅgitāni āsādya tvām mānayiṣyanti*. Since the cloud with its rumblings had been instrumental in locking the *Siddha* ladies into the embraces of their lovers, it was he who deserved their gratitude. And as their gratefulness had emanated from the pleasure of embraces imparted by their lasses, the gerundive form *āsādya* should be taken to qualify *āliṅgitāni* and not *tvām* which undoubtedly forms an object to *mānayiṣyanti*.

Mallinātha is doubtless on sound footing in treating *tīropāntastanitasubhagam* (V. 25) as an adverb. His interpretation of the clause as *tīropānte taṭaprānte yat stanitam garjitam tena subhagam yathā tathā paśyasi*, is unblemished. The cloud would enjoy the water of Vetravatī river, while making pleasantly sweet rumblings on its bank. Lakṣmīnivāsa takes it to be an adjective that qualifies *payaḥ* in the last *pāda*. While it is absurd to tag it to a *viśeṣya* to which it does not legitimately belong, his breath—taking rendering of *Stanitena* as *vihagakūjitena* is simply outrageous. It is difficult to comprehend how the chirpings of the birds on the bank could have added charm to the water of the river. Curiously enough, he is supported in his contention by such an enlightened commentator as Kṛṣṇapati,[11] though the latter has been chary not to fall victim to the howler involved in Lakṣmīnivāsa's wholly unwarranted interpretation of *stanitena*. Perhaps to obviate the anomaly inherent in such a prose-order, he alternatively takes it to be an adverb. And that is the only sensible way to deal with the phrase.

Ratnacchāyā-khacita-valibhiḥ, that forms part of the first hemistich of Verse 38, is a transparently clear phrase to admit of any equivocation. As an adjectival clause, qualifyng *Cāmaraiḥ*, it is liable to one and only one interpretation : " The chowries had their handles (*valis*) covered with the lustre of gems

11 Kṛṣṇapati, op. cit, p. 17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

studded therein." The way Lakṣmīnivāsa has rendered it adds up to by far the most mindless piece in his commentary. As indicated by his gloss thereon, *ratnacchāyayā khacitāḥ prakaṭīkṛtāḥ valayaḥ udara-lekhāḥ yaiḥ*, he takes the *vali* in the clause to denote *trivali*. Thus to him the chowries with their gems had been instrumental in revealing the *trivali* of the dancing girls at the *Mahākāla* temple. This is abhorrent to common sense. How the *Cāmaras* could have bared/revealed the *trivali*, which itself must have been visible to the naked eye, passes comprehension. Going by Lakṣmīnivāsa's rendering one can scarcely avoid the conclusion that chowries served the dual function of exposing the *trivali* and *thereby* tiring the hands of the dancing maids. No sensible person could have indulged in such fanciful atrocities.

It is awkward to compare, as implied by Lakṣmīnivāsa's interpretation of the phrase *kanakanikaṣasnigdhayā* (V. 40), the streak of lightning with the touch-stone : *kanakanikaṣavat nikaṣapaṭṭavat snigdhā arūkṣā tayā*. The two are so distinctly opposed in colour that only a blind would have the temerity to detect similarity between them. The commentator has evidently failed to appreciate the point of comparison that a scholiast of Mallinātha's calibre could have hardly missed. He has aptly paraphrased the clause as fallows : *kanakasya ... upalagatarekhā tasyeva snigdham tejo yasyāstayā*. Mallinātha's gloss unravels the happy similarity that exists between the lightning in dark clouds and the streak of gold on the touch-stone. It is not the touch-stone, but the streak of gold made thereon to test its purity, that is intended as an *upamāna* here. Lakṣmīnivāsa's gloss is wide off the mark.

Toyotsargārtham stanitena garjitena mukharo mā bhūḥ, such an interpretation of the phrase *toyotsarga-stanita-mukharaḥ* in the same verse stems from the lack of proper understanding of the text and the phenomenon suggested therein. It suffers from the presumption that rain is invariably preceded by thundering. It is however a common experience that the cloud does not always thunder to shed rain. Moreover, this is not the connotation that the poet means to convey here. He rather seeks to underline the *mukharatā* of the cloud, that is heightened by its twin acts of thundering and raining. Mallinātha is perfectly justified in treating the clause as a *dvandva* compound (*toyotsargastanitābhyām mukharaḥ*). As a matter of fact his remark *nātra toyotsargasahitam stanitamiti vigrahaḥ* aims to deter any recourse to the alternative *madhyamapadalopī* compound. And that cuts at root of Lakṣmīnivāsa's rendering of the phrase.

The commentator reads *puṣpamoghīkṛtātmā* for *puṣpa-meghīkṛtātmā* in Verse 46, wherein the cloud is asked to rain flowers on Skanda to demonstrate its reverence to the deity. The reading adopted by the commentator is odd enough. He has multiplied the oddity by his foolish gloss theron: *Puṣpaiḥ moghīkṛtaḥ saphalīkṛtaḥ ātmā yena saḥ*. He would have us believe that the cloud had gratified itself with the mass of flowers, on Devagiri. Besides the fact that he

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

has left unexplained how could it have happened, the interpretation runs counter to the imperatives of the context. No one in his senses would ever paraphrase *moghīkṛtaḥ* as *saphalīkṛtaḥ*, so diametrically opposed to each other are they. The cloud has been enjoined here to express regards to Skanda, stationed on the hill, with a shower of flowers. That it could have done by turning itself into a mass of flowers. This is precisely what *puṣpameghīkṛtātmā* is intended to convey. The cloud's competence to assume the form of its choosing is inherent in its epithet, *kāmarūpam maghonaḥ* (V. 6).

Verse 79 describes the multiferious objects that the *kalpavṛkṣa* was wont to yield in Alakā. One of the epithets employed therein, *nayanavibhramādeśa-dakṣam*, has been taken by the Commentator as an adjective to *puṣpodbhedam*, which he enigmatically renders as *kusuma-cītratām*. His *anvaya* of the text, as also the interpretation of *puṣpodbhedam*, is a sad commentary on his equipment. It is surprising how a commentator could be so uncanny as not to discern the appropriateness of simple phrases and their function in the context, which even a casual reader would not miss. One fails to understand how the flowers could have lent *vibhrama* to the eyes. This is the function that wine performs with vengeance. And this is exactly how Mallinātha has treated it. Obviously it qualifies *madhu* not *puṣpodbhedam*. Mallinātha's additional remark: *anena vibhramadvārā madhuno maṇḍanatvamanusaṁdheyam*, is interesting.

Lakṣmīnivāsa's interpretation of the first *pāda* (*gatvā sadyaḥ kalabhatanutām śīghrasaṁpātahetoḥ*) of Verse 87, again projects him in poor shade. *Kṣipram gamanārtham kalabhatanutām gatvā*, is how he has explained the line. The cloud was asked to assume the form of a young elephant not to avoid delay in proceeding further but to facilitate his entry into the Yakṣa's house and brief sojourn on the pleasure hill, prior to that. Mallinātha's observation *Śīghrapraveśārthamityarthaḥ* tellingly drives home the point. With the paraphrase *guruśarīre vilambo jāyate*, Lakṣmīnivāsa, on the other hand, implies that to him the cloud had not yet reached its destination. This is contrary to the facts, unfolded in the verse. It had already arrived at Yakṣa's house and was waiting for an appropriate opportunity to make its entry therein. It is interesting to find Mallinātha introduce the verse with the comment : *nijagṛhaniścayāntaraṃ kṛtyamāha*.

Pratyādeśānna khalu bhavato dhīratām kalpayāmi (V. 120) has landed the Commentator into illogical exposition. He has completely failed to fathom the import of the line which admittedly is liable to varied interpretation, with the commentators and editors accepting the reading and interpreting it according to their lights and preferences. But Lakṣmīnivāsa has strained all imaginable bounds of probability by interpreting it as : *bhavatastava dhīratām pratyākhyātum vaktum na kalpayāmi śaknomi*. What led the commentator to explain the line thus, is not easy to determine. May be his ignorance or imperviousness to poetic naunces or irresponsible approach to a very responsible task ! This is however

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

what he has sought to impose on the text that it cannot be tortured to yield at all. Lakṣmīnivāsa has made non-sense of the verse by his indefensible gloss, a remark that may be said to apply to most of the clauses in the text, that required discernment, critical faculty and equipment born of wide and incisive learning.

Besides these exhaustive investigations into the validity of his interpretation of the text, it should be rewarding to evaluate some of the momentous variants, favoured by him. Notwithstanding the fact that the text of the *Meghadūta* has come down to us "fairly uniformly," it is known to differ, not inconsiderably in various traditions. Lakṣmīnivāsa has naturally followed the Jaina tradition that represents by far the most bloated version of the text in admitting as many as 127 stanzas, with the Kashmirian Vallabha symbolising the other pole with 110 verses. Lakṣmīnivāsa's poor judgement, so naggingly perceptible in his interpretation of the poem, is further confirmed by some of the offensive readings, adopted by him.

Verse 37 asks the cloud to perform with his thunderings the function of a tabor at the evening—worship of Śiva, in the *Mahākāla* shrine at Ujjayinī, unmindful of the long wait it might entail. As such, the text of the second line as read by Lakṣmīnivāsa, *nayanaviṣayaṃ yāvadabhyeti bhānuḥ* is open to question. It may be said to his credit that celebrities like Vallabha, Sumativijaya, Mahimasiṁha, Sarasvatītīrtha[12] and Kṛṣṇapati[13] also have favoured the same reading. While not meaning discourtesy to these stalwarts, one cannot be insensible to its incongruity with the context. In view of the evening prayers at the temple wherein the cloud was to play tabor, it is the sun-set that is expected here, and not its rise, as is implied in the reading *abhyeti bhānuḥ*. As his gloss affirms, Lakṣmīnivāsa had been unaware of the contradiction involved in his reading. Sarasvatītīrtha, on the other hand, endeavoured to smoothen the variant with the general import of the verse by paraphrasing *abhyeti* as *atikrāmati*[14]. That, however, is utterly untenable. By no stretch of imagination can *abhyeti* be persecuted to mean *atikrāmati*. It therefore should be rejected in favour of *atyeti*, as Mallinātha has wisely done it. He seems to have been vindicated in his judgement by De's preferrence for the latter.[15]

Kundakṣepānugamadhukaraśrīmukhām, read in Verse 50 is out of joint with the context. What was perhaps intended as vernacular form of the cerebral sibilant, established itself to emerge subsequently as an independent variant, without the copyists pausing to ponder over the harm they had thereby inflicted on the sense and beauty of the verse. As a matter of fact, the phrase, in its present

12 *The Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, op. cit, p. 51 F. No. 34.
13 *Meghadūta-ṭīkā*, op. cit., p. 23, Verse 35 (Text).
14 *The Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, op. cit, p. 51, F. No. 34
15 *Ibid.*, Stanza 34 (Text).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

form, has no *locus standi* in the verse because of its failure to serve the purpose it is meant to perform as an adjective to ° *kautuhalānām*. It stands in splendid isolation, with no function to perform. It is also of note that this variant is not noticed in any of the known Mss. The only alternative reading, encountered therein, is ° *Śrījuṣām*. And still Lakṣmīnivāsa had the cheek to explain it in a manner that forms nothing but a jumble of meaningless vocables. One hopes, he understood the import of his interpreation !

Verse 52 refers to the efficacy of the waters of the holy Sarasvatī, that had led Balarāma to discard his coveted wine and consequently rendered him pure at heart. The term used to denote the cloud's partaking of the sacred waters varies between *abhigamam* and *adhigamam*. Lakṣmīnivāsa prefers to read the former. The variant doubtless has the sanction of competent commentators including Mallinātha and Bharata-mallika, as also some of the modern editors like Gildemeister and S. K. De.[16] Lakṣmīnivāsa's rendering of the phrase as *sevanam* is almost identical with that of Mallinātha who equates it with *sevām*. Kṛṣṇapati paraphrases it as *adhigamam*. May be, he differed from the text and retained the alternative reading in his very brief gloss on the stanza. Though *sevanam* (drinking) is what is needed here, *abhi*/gam hardly admits of the sense. In view of its unmistakable clarity, the variant *adhigamam* seems to be preferable.

The text of Verse 57 in Lakṣmīnivāsa differs substantially from that adopted by Mallinātha, Sarasvatī-tīrtha and others. It, however, accords with what Vallabha and Kṛṣṇapati read. While the variants in the first hemistich have equally powerful claim to merit preference because of their acute precision in the context, the reading in the third *pāda*, *karakāvṛṣṭihāsāva-kīrṇān*, though a wee more poetic than the bland ° *vṛṣṭipātāvakīrṇān*, lacks force and seems to militate against the function it should discharge in the context. It is indeed happy to compare the hail-storm with laughter, but it unwittingly diminishes the ferocity of the cloud to scare away the aggressive *Śarabhas*, who were menacingly poised to charge at him. *Karakāvṛṣṭipātāvakīrṇān*, on the other hand, dispenses with the mildness inherent in *hāsa* and thus serves to highlight the vigour of the cloud to drive away the bellicose animals. The imperatives of the situation are met better by the latter reading.

Opinion is divided with equal sharpness on the text of the second hemistich of the succeeding stanza, which, as it is read by Lakṣmīnivāsa, may be reproduced here :

yasmindṛṣṭe karaṇavigamāddūramuddhūtapāpāḥ
saṁkalpante sthiragaṇapadaprāptaye śraddadhānāḥ ||

Sanātana-goswāmī, Mahimasiṁha and Sāroddhāriṇī also have the same.

16 Ibid, p. 55. F. N. 49.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

text, *saṁkalpante* being additionally shared by Sumativijaya. Mallinātha, on the other hand, rejects them in favour of *Ūrdhvamuddhūtapāpāḥ* and *kalpiṣyante*. While he has Vallabha's sanction for the first, *kalpiṣyante* represents an emendation of the latter's *kalpante'sya*. It is Vallabha's text that, on critical evaluation, has been found genuine, both by Wilson and S. K. De. As regards *kalpante'sya*, Iśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara's remark *ayameva pāthaḥ sādhīyān, nirupasargasyaiva kḷṛpteḥ paryāptivācakatvāt samityupasargayoge tu dhāturayamarthāntaraṃ bodhayati*,[17] clinches the issue against *saṁkalpante* and *kalpiṣyante*. However, *dūramuddhūtapā·āḥ* does not mean what is needed in the con'ext The sight of Śiva's foot-prints was sufficient for the devotees to achieve the rank of his *gaṇas*, after death. Whatever the text, the second half of the verse should denote nothing else. The meaning is possible with *ūrdhvam* and not with *dūram* since the devotees were entitled to gaṇahood after the death, *ūrdhvam* must have been the original reading. The predilection of eminent commentators like Vallabha and Mallinātha for the variant also attests to its genuineness.

The mount Kailāsa with its snow-capped peaks has been happily conceived as a mass of Śiva's laughter (61). The reading in the last *pāda* of the stanza has been the subject of much commentatorial and editorial controversy and ingenuity. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Mallinātha, Kṛṣṇapati and Jinasena,[18] among others, read *pratidinamiva trayambakasyāṭṭahāsaḥ*. The other set of commentators favours *pratidiśamiva* with equal tenacity. The question, as remarked by S .K. De, really is whether temporal or spatial accumulation is meant. The third *pāda* would suggest the accumulation to have been spatial because the mount is said to encompass the sky with its peaks, covered with snow, that would make the expanse resemble Śiva's laughter heaped in all quarters. However, even the fact of the sky having been covered with its far-extending peaks would not negate the mount's situation in the north. With the reading *pratidiśamiva*, also favoured by Lakṣmīnivāsa, one would be driven willy-nilly to conclude that the Kailāsa was not stationed in the northern direction alone and it had embraced the whole firmament in its sweep. That is contrary to the location of the mount and the sequence of the accumulation of the snow. The snow could not have covered the mount, at one stroke. It must have grown to size over a considerable period of time, leading the poet to imagine that it had gathered there day by day. That should account for the South Indian commentator's preference for *pratidinamiva*.

Verse 81, that addresses itself to detail the topography of Yakṣa's house, though seemingly indisputable, has led the commentators to group themselves in two well-defined bands to confront each other, so far as a reading in the first

17 *Ibid*, p. 57, F.N. 55.

18 *Ibid*, p. 58, F.N. 58.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

pāda is concerned. A powerful set of commentators including such luminaries as Sumativijaya, Parameśvara and Kṛṣṇapati favours the ablative form and reads : *tatrāgāram dhanapatigṛhāduttareṇāsmadīyam*. Lakṣmīnivāsa also has ° *gṛhād*. Vallabha, the earliest scholiast of *Meghadūta*, is vehemently critical of the form and denounces it as *anārya*.[19] As remarked by Mallinātha, with the variant *dhanapatigṛhād, uttareṇa* cannot be treated as an *enabanta* form. It would naturally have to be taken as an instrumental adjective to *toraṇena*. According to Bharata-mallika *uttareṇa* here denotes direction and, as such, obviously in accordance with Pāṇini II. 3. 29, takes ablative.[20] *Tattvabodhinī* on *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* (II. 3.31) also takes it as adjectival clause, qualifying *toraṇena*. In that case, it is not possible with Lakṣmīnivāsa to interpret it as *uttarasamīpe*. However, those like Mallinātha who treat *uttareṇa* as a form ending in *enap* naturally substitute the ablative with the accusative case and read *dhanapati-gṛhānuttareṇa*. *Tattvabodhinī* also seems to favour the reading when it remarks *dhanapatigṛhān-uttareṇāsmadīyamIti kaiścitpaṭhyate tadā tu samyageva*.[21] S. K. De is of the opinion that conformity to grammar had led the original *gṛhāt* to be modified to *gṛhān*.[22]

This multi-focal evaluation of the commentary leaves little doubt that Lakṣmīnivāsa was not at all equal to the task he had undertaken rather zealously. The *Śiṣyahitaiṣinī* is hardly true to its name. Apart from not doing *hita* to the student, it, not unoften, misleads him into a blind alley. It is undoubtedly the " Smallest " Commentary on one of the " greatest " poems.

19-20 *Ibid*, p. 64, F.N. 72.

21 *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* with *Tattvabodhinī*, Delhi, 1985, p. 152, Lines 28-30.

22 The *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, op cit,, Introduction, P. XXVII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

THE *ŚĪGHRASIDDHI* OF LAKṢMĪDHARA

By

DAVID PINGREE*

Lakṣmīdhara, the son of Vaijadeva (I 1), lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century *A.D.*; the epoch of his sole surviving work is Śaka 1200 or *A.D.* 1278 (I. 4). The tables that accompany this work, the *Śīghrasiddhi*[1], are the earliest yet recovered that facilitate the computation of *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, and *yogas*[2], though Lakṣmīdhara refers to tables computed by his predecessors that were either too inaccurate or too difficult to use (I. 3). Presumably he invented the form found here, which is based on the cycles and the annual increments of the three functions in terms of anomalistic months and on tables embodying the corrections due to the solar and lunar equations. The provenance of the manuscripts of the *Śīghrasiddhi* and the use made of it by Janārdana Yajñopavītin and Vidyādhara in the seventeenth century support the hypothesis that Lakṣmīdhara lived in Western India. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that he follows the *Brāhmapakṣa*, though his simultaneous use of the *Āryapakṣa* would indicate that he came from a more southern region than Gujarat.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept.–December, 1987 issue, pp. 65-81.

* Brown University, Box 1900. Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A. 02912.

1 An analysis of these tables will be found in D. Pingree, *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables in England* (henceforth cited as *SATE*), Madras 1973, pp. 76-82.

2 Such tables as are known presently to me are, in chronological order :

(1) *Kāmadhenu* of Mahādeva (1357). *SATE*, pp. 82-89.

(2) *Kalpalatā* (1359). *SATE*, pp. 89-92.

(3) *Makaranda* of Makaranda (1478). D. Pingree, *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables in the United States* (henceforth cited *SATIUS*). Philadelphia 1968, pp. 39b-46b; *SATE*, p. 92.

(4) *Tithicintāmaṇi* of Gaṇeśa (1525). *SATIUS*, pp. 47b-50b; *SATE*, pp. 100-101.

(5) *Bṛhattithicintāmaṇi* of Gaṇeśa (1552). *SATIUS*, pp. 50b-51a; *SATE*, p. 101.

(6) *Tithisāraṇī* of Dinakara (1583). *SATE*, pp. 112-114.

(7) *Tithyādicintāmaṇi* of Dinakara (1586). *SATIUS*, pp. 51a-51b.

(8) Anonymous of 1594. *SATIUS*, pp. 54a-55a.

(9) *Tithikalpadruma* of Kalyāṇa (1606). *SATE*, pp. 123-128.

(10) Anonymous of 1638. *SATIUS*, pp. 59b-60b.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Like Śrīdhara, then, whose *Laghukhecarasiddhi* uses 1227 as its epoch[3], Lakṣmīdhara probably lived in the territory of the Yādavas of Devagiri.

Four manuscripts of the *Śīghrasiddhi* survive :

A. Addition 14,366 in the British Museum, London[4]. 38ff. (text on ff. 1v–12v; tables on ff. 13–38v). Copied by Janārdana (concerning whom see below) on 9 September 1622

B. c. 319 (ii) in the Chandra Shumshere Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford[5]. Part A: 3ff.; part B: 22ff.; and part C; i f (text in A; tables in B; Janārdana's addition in C). Copied by Janārdana on 29 January 1639 (B) and on 5 February 1639 (A and C).

C. 2166 in the Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad. 6ff. Copied in 1692.

D. 5204 in the Anup Library, Bikaner. i f.

I have had access to only the first two of these manuscripts, both of which were copied by and "corrected" by Janārdana. In part C of manuscript B he gives twelve verses which largely repeat the *Śīghrasiddhi;* they are edited in Appendix I to this article. Janārdana's verses 2-10 correspond to *Śīghrasiddhi* I. 4-11. His second verse gives his epoch as Śaka 1550 or *A.D.* 1628, though in table 14, which is found only in manuscript B, the epoch is 3 March 1618[6]. His last verse states that he lived in Saṅgamanera, which is modern Sangamner situated between Nasik and Ahmadnagar at the confluence of the Pravara and Mahāluṅgi rivers. His time and place, then, fit the information given in tables 1, 3, and 5 in manuscript A that they are for Godātīra, where the noon

---

(11) *Pañcāṅgavidyādharī* of Vidyādhara (1643). *SATIUS*, pp. 60b-61b; *SATE*, p. 142.

(12) *Tithidarpaṇa* of Murāri. *SATE*, pp. 149-150

(13) *Laghutithidarpaṇa* of Murāri (1665). *STATE*, pp. 151-153.

(14) *Pañcāṅgānayanasāraṇi* (1718). *SATE*, pp. 153-158.

(15) *Gaṇitarāja* of Kevalarāma Pañcānana (1728). *SATE*, pp. 158-168.

(16) *Jayavinodasāraṇi* of Jayasiṃha (1735). *SATIUS*, pp. 66b-67a.

(17) Anonymous of 1741. *SATIUS*, pp. 67a-68b.

(18) *Pattraprakāśa* of Viśrāmaśukla (1777). *SATE*, pp. 170-175.

(19) Anonymous of 1790. *SATIUS*, pp. 70a-70b. In this paper, in the interest of brevity, I shall say nothing further of the technical aspects of the *Śīghrasiddhi*, but shall reserve such a discussion for a general paper on all the *tithi*, *nakṣatra*, and *yoga* tables listed above.

3 Pingree, D. "The *Laghukhecarasiddhi* of Śrīdhara," to appear in this *Journal*.

4 *SATE*, p. 13.

5 *SATE*, pp. 46-47.

6 *SATE*, pp. 81-82.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

equinoctial shadow is 4; 20 digits so that the terrestrial latitude is about 20° (the latitude of Sangamner is 19; 34° N), and that the *ayanāṃśa* was 16; 30°, which was correct in the early seventeenth century.

In manuscript B Janārdana includes only *Śīghrasiddhi* I. 1-13 and II. 2-7 and 14-15 and tables 1-9, 11-12, and 14. In manuscript A he includes, besides the verses in manuscript B, II. 1, which refers to his *bhogakṣepas* computed for Saṅgamanera in tables 1 and 3; II. 8-13, which add a correction based on the variations in the sizes of the epicycles of the Sun and the Moon depending on their depression from the meridian according to the *Brāhmapakṣa*; II. 16-29, which refer to functions other than *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, and *yogas* (some are tabulated in tables 10-13); all of III and IV, written in *ślokas* and to a great extent being simply versification of additional tables two of which are reproduced in Appendix II); and tables 1-13. Moreover, in III. 28 it is indicated that the local longitude utilized in the *bhogakṣepas* is 20 *yojanas* West of the prime meridian, which corresponds to a position 1; 30° West of Ujjayinī; Saṅgamanera is 1; 24° West of Ujjayinī, so that the text's estimate is very good indeed.

These considerations lead me to believe that probably only the material in parts A and B of manuscript B belong to the *Śīghrasiddhi* of Lakṣmīdhara; most of the rest, despite the colophons in manuscript A, was composed by Janārdana. Fortunately we can test this theory by comparing the *Śīghrasiddhi* with the *Pañcāṅgavidyādharī* composed by Vidyādhara of the Girināràyaṇajñāti[8] at Rājakoṭa in 1643.[9] These two works are the only ones to include tables based on both the *Brāhmapakṣa* and the *Āryapakṣa*; in fact, tables 5-7 and 9-11 of the *Pañcāṅgavidyādharī* are copies or slight modifications of tables 1-3 and 7-9 of the *Śīghrasiddhi* which Vidyādhara surely knew. Verses 6-8 of the *Pañcāṅgavidyādharī* are based on verses I, 9-11 of the *Śīghrasiddhi*; verse 11 on I. 13; verses 12-15 on II. 2, 3, 5, and 7; verse 16 on II. 15 and 14; verse 17 on II. 18, 21, and 24; and verses 18-20 on II. 26-29. Therefore, we must also consider to be Lakṣmīdhara's work II. 18, 21, 24, and 26-29 which are omitted from manuscript B; but the remainder belongs to Janārdana.

śrīgaṇādhipataye namaḥ ||
atha śīghrasiddhir likhyate ||

śrīherambaṃ praṇamyābhilaṣitaphaladaṃ vyāla-yajñopavītaṃ
śabdabrahmasvarūpām abhimataphaladāṃ śrīgiraṃ śrīguruṃ ca |

SATE, p. 77.

SATE, pp. 186-188.

No. 11 in note 2 above. I hope soon to publish editions of this work with Vidyādhara's *Grahavidyādhara*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

śrīmantau puṣpavantau tribhuvananayane vaijadevasya sūnur
vakṣye Lakṣmīdharākhyo matayugalamatāṃ sāraṇīṃ śīghrasiddhim || 1 ||

vidyāsv eva caturdaśasv abhihitā dharmārtha-kāmādayas
te syuḥ kālaviśeṣatas Truṭimukhāḥ kalpāvasānā's ca te |
tatrābdāyanamāsavāsaratithī tatkhaṇḍayogādayaḥ
karmaṇyās tithisāraṇīṣu sugamā tatsādhana- prakriyā || 2 ||

yāsu syus tithisāraṇīsu tithayaḥ spaṣṭā na tāsāṃ laghū-
pāyo yāsu laghukriyā natithayas tāsāṃ bhavanti sphuṭāḥ |
yāsāṃ cāryabhaṭāśritāḥ syur athavā syur brahma-pakṣāśritās
tāsāṃ nānyabhavā bhavanti tithayo vakṣyāmi tasmād imām || 3 ||

Salutation in A : śrīgaṇādhipataye namaḥ || śrīvanacāmuṇḍāya namaḥ || śrīgurubhyo namaḥ || salutation in B : śrīvaradamūrti jayati || śrīsarasvatī-praṇamaḥ || śrīmūlapiṭhaṇivāsiṇibhyo namaḥ || śrīgurubhyo namaḥ || atha sārghasiddhī likhyate || 3d : nānyai-bhavanti B

śāko dvādaśabhiḥ śatair virahitaḥ syād abda-vṛndābhidho
nighno 'sau śaśibhūmibhis Trisahito 'dhaḥstho rasendrānvitaḥ |
dvistho 'bdhyagniśaroddhṛtaḥ phalayuto 'bhrā-tyaṣṭihṛl labdhayuk
chuddhiḥ syāt tithipūrvakā khadahanair bhaktā-vaśeṣonmitā || 4 ||

abdoccayaḥ śarahataḥ sanagaiḥ pṛthag bhair
yukto yugendravihṛtaḥ saphalo yugāptaḥ |
vārādir abdapatir adrihṛtāvaśeṣaḥ
syāt tryadripañcakuhṛtābdayuto ghaṭīṣu || 5 ||

viśvāhato 'bdanicayo 'ṣṭayamānvito 'dhas
tryaṅkāgniyuṅ manuśarenduhṛtaḥ phalonaḥ |
khābdhyuddhṛtaś cyutaphalo 'ṣṭahato 'bdavṛndas
tithyādi mandam idam abhraguṇāptaśeṣam || 6 ||

brahmoktasiddhāntamatāśritāni
proktāni śuddhyabdapamandakāni |
bhavanti tāny āryabhaṭoditāni
hīnāni nāḍyādibhir antarākhyaiḥ || 7 ||

Tristho 'bdavṛnda iṣubhānubhir agniśaila-
bāṇendubhiḥ ṣaḍiṣubhir vihṛtaḥ phalāḍhyāḥ |
vedā yamau kṣitibhṛto 'ntaranāḍikaḥ syur
dasreṣavo gajayugāni śivā vināḍyaḥ || 8 ||

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ity upakaraṇādhyāye śuddhyabdapamandasiddhiḥ ॥

4b : dhasto B. 4c : labdhiyuk B. 5a : sanaga B. 8b : vihṛtāḥ A. col. : iti śīghrasiddhau śuddhyabdapamandasiddhiḥ B.

śuddhiḥ svakīyāvayavotthabhogyā
tithidhruvaḥ syād bhayutidhruvau staḥ ।
śuddhir dvidhā svīyadaśāṃśahīnā
ṣaṇṇāḍikāḍhyāvayavotthabhogyā ॥ 9 ॥

nāḍyādīn dhruvakasthitān avayavān sarvān pṛthak sthāpayet
tatrādyo 'vayavaḥ svakīyayugaṣaḍbhāgena hīnas tataḥ ।
sasvābdhyaṣṭalavaḥ paro nijanagakṣmāṃśonitas tatparas
tair yukto 'bdapatiḥ pṛthak pṛthag ime bhogā bhavanti kramāt ॥ 10 ॥

mandaṃ kuñjaraśītaraśmiguṇitaṃ kṛtvā tridhā saṃsthitaṃ
nandāṅgāśvibhir akṣanandaśaśibhiḥ śailāgniśailair bhajet ।
labdhais tais tu pṛthak pṛthag virahitaṃ mandaṃ tridhā cānvitaṃ
nāḍyādyair dhruvakasthitair avayavaiḥ kendrāṇi tāni kramāt ॥ 11 ॥

bhogeṣu sarveṣu hṛtis turaṅgais
tithidhruve pūrṇahutāśanaiś ca ।
saptāśvibhir bhadhruvake tathaiva
yogadhruve parvatalocanaiś ca ॥ 12 ॥

9d : ṣaṇṇāḍikādyā° B. 10c : °ṣṭakavaḥ B. 10d : bhogyā A. 1b : akṣinandaśaśi B. 11c : tridhaivānvitaṃ B. 12 not numbered in B.

kendrasya cakraṃ tithipūrvakasya
saptāśvino goviṣayās trirāmāḥ ।
bhādyasya bhāny agnibhuvo 'ṣṭavedā
yogādikasyāṅkayamā nṛpā bhūḥ ॥ 13 ॥

iti tithidhruvādisiddhiḥ ॥

brahmāśritair āryabhaṭāśritair vā-
bhīṣṭābdajātair dhruvabhogakendraiḥ ।
kṣepair nijagrāmabhavaiś ca kuryāt
tithyādikaṃ svāvadhijaṃ krameṇa ॥ 1 ॥

koṣṭheṣu dikṣu tithijaṃ navasūḍuyutyoḥ
svakṣepakena sahitaṃ vilikhet svakendram ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

mūrdhny ekakena sahitaṃ pratikoṣṭham āḍhyaṃ
hīnaṃ dhanarṇaghaṭikādikacālakena ॥ 2 ॥

kendrordhvagāṅkajanitāni phalāny adho 'dho
dhāryāṇi kendraghaṭikāṅkitapaṅktijāni ।
svarṇākhyahārahṛtakendrapalaiḥ paleṣu
yuktonitāni dhanahānyabhidhāni kendrāt ॥ 3 ॥

bhogo nijakṣepayuto dhanarṇa-
cchedoddhṛtābhir dhruvanāḍikābhiḥ ।
yuktonito 'sau vighaṭ'ṣu kāryaḥ
svābhir ghaṭībhiś ca tathā phalāni ॥ 4 ॥

koṣṭheṣu saṃmārjitakendrakeṣu
mūrdhny ekayuktaṃ pratikoṣṭhakaṃ tam ।
bhogaṃ dhanarṇābhidhacālakena
likhed yutonaṃ ghaṭikādikena ॥ 5 ॥

---

13 numbered 14 in B. col and II 1 om B 2 numbered 1 in B. 3a kendrārdha° A. 3c phaleṣu A.

krameṇa koṣṭhonmitibhir vinighnair
daśoddhṛtaiḥ śeṣapalaiḥ kṣayasvaiḥ ।
bhogāḥ paleṣūnayutāḥ sphuṭās te
syuḥ saṃskṛtāḥ kendraphalair ghaṭīṣu ॥ 6 ॥

tadvāranāḍyantaragāṃ likhet sva-
kṣepeṇa yuktāṃ dhruvakordhvasaṅkhyām ।
ekaikayuktāṃ pratikoṣṭham arko-
dayāt svavāreṣu bhavanti bhogāḥ ॥ 7 ॥

iti dvitīyādhyāye tithyādibhogaspaṣṭīkaraṇasiddhiḥ ॥

brahmoktamadhyaparidhisphuṭabhāskarendvos
tithyādikaṃ sphuṭam idaṃ sakalaṃ niruktam ।
spaṣṭīkṛtasvaparidhisphuṭayos tayor yat
saṃjāyate sphuṭataraṃ natakarma tat syāt ॥ 8 ॥

māsasya yātaṃ tithipūrvakaṃ yad
bhogāvasāne dviguṇena tena ।
bāṇenduyuktena pṛthag vihīno
bhogo 'vaśeṣaṃ ghaṭikādi cāndraṃ ॥ 9 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

candrasya nāḍyutthanataṃ dhanarṇa-
hāroddhṛtaiś candraphalair yutonam ।
svarṇaṃ bhavet svarṇaghaṭībhavaṃ tac
cāndraṃ tathārkaṃ natakarmajaṃ syāt ॥ 10 ॥

santāḍitāt kendraphalān natena
cāndreṇa ṣaṣṭyāptavināḍikābhiḥ ।
ṛṇe nate kendraphale dhanākhye
bhogo vihīnaḥ sahito 'nyathātaḥ ॥ 11 ॥

6b : śeṣaphalai B. col. to col. after II 13 om. B. 9d : candraḥ A. 10d : candraṃ A.

saṃmārjayet kendraphalāni tatra
nijāvadheḥ sauraphalaṃ vidadhyāt ।
yuktaṃ vihīnaṃ nijacālakena
svarṇena kṛtvā pratikoṣṭhakaṃ tat ॥ 12 ॥

ārko bhaved iṣumahīghaṭikonabhogaḥ
saurasya tanna cha tasya rasartubhāgaḥ ।
kāryas tither vighaṭikāsu nate dha < na > rṇe
svarṇo 'nyathā yutijabhogavināḍikāsu ॥ 13 ॥

iti spaṣṭatarabhogasiddhiḥ ॥

yatraikavāre tithibhogayugmaṃ
tatrādyabhogena paro vihīnaḥ ।
kāryaḥ sa vāro 'vamasaṃjñakaḥ syāt
tatkoṣṭhayoḥ koṣṭhaka eka eva ॥ 14 ॥

ity avamasiddhiḥ ॥

yaṃ vāram ullaṅghya tithir vivṛddhas
tadvārakoṣṭhāntarago vidheyaḥ ।
tithiḥ sa tatrāpi hi ṣaṣṭināḍyas
tadbhogajāḥ syuḥ sa tithis tryahaḥspṛk ॥ 15 ॥

iti tryahaḥspṛksiddhiḥ ॥

vārād adho 'dhas tithidhiṣṇyayoga-
kaṣṭhās trayo dvau karaṇasya koṣṭhau ।
sūkṣmarkṣakoṣṭho dinamānavāra-
pravṛttikoṣṭhau grahakoṣṭhakaś ca ॥ 16 ॥

13a : arko A. 13c : thiter A. 14c : svavāro A. 14d : yaka A. 14 numbered 1 in B. col. om. B. 15b °koṣṭāntarako B. 15 numbered 2 in B. col. in B : iti śīghrasiddhau pañcāṅgasiddhi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

vāreṣu sarveṣv iti koṣṭhakāḥ syur
madhoḥ sitāder vihṛteṣu teṣu ।
ādyāvadher yaḥ prathamas tithis tat-
koṣṭhāl likhed vāravaśena bhogāt ॥ 17 ॥

iti paṭṭasthitakoṣṭhasiddhiḥ ॥

tither gataiṣyaikyadalaṃ nijaiṣyād
alpaṃ yadi syād aparaṃ dalaṃ tat ।
adhaḥ svabhogād vilikhed analpam
ādyardham ādyād api bhogato 'dhaḥ ॥ 18 ॥

tadantarāmbhodhilavo dhanarṇaḥ
syād vṛddhihāniprabhavo 'parārdhe ।
tadanyathā pūrvadale 'tha bhogāṃs
tyaktvāparārdhāt kramaśo nidheyāḥ ॥ 19 ॥

tryahaḥspṛśe tūrdhvadalaṃ nijaiṣyāt
tyaktvā tadardhaṃ parimārjanīyam ।
ardhadvayaṃ cāvamajaṃ krameṇa
likhed adhastād avamaṃ vimṛjya ॥ 20 ॥

teṣāṃ sitapratipadūrdhvadalādikānāṃ
nāmāni mūrdhani likhed bavapūrvakāṇām ।
kṛṣṇākhyabhūtajanitordhvadalādikānāṃ
saṃjñāḥ sthiraś ca śakunipramukhāḥ krameṇa ॥ 21 ॥

iti karaṇasiddhih ॥

saukṣmāyabhāgatagataikyam ihaikyasaṃjñaṃ
tannāḍikājanitapaṅktiphalaṃ bhujaṃ syāt ।
tat tena caikyavighaṭīguṇitena caikya-
nāḍyuddhṛtena sahitaṃ vighaṭīṣu kāryam ॥ 22 ॥

19a : °lave A. 19d : tyaktvośarārddhāt A. 20d : vimṛjyān A.
22a : °gataikyām A. 22b : bhajaṃ A. 22d nādyuhṛtena A.

bhogaḥ phalonaḥ śravaṇaśraviṣṭhā-
hirbudhnyabhogaḥ saphalo vidheyaḥ ।
viśvarkṣajaikyād abhijitphalaṃ syād
vaiśvopariṣṭhād abhijidbhabhogaḥ ॥ 23 ॥

sūkṣmanakṣatrasiddhiḥ ॥

abd < e > śayuktā ravirāśidhiṣṇya-
praveśabhogā grahakoṣṭhakeṣu ।
likhed yathāvad dinamānavārā-
pravṛttisaṃjñā nijakoṣṭhakeṣu ॥ 24 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

tāni dyumānāni dhanarṇasaṃjñaiḥ
svacālakair yuktavivarjitāni ।
tadagrakoṣṭheṣu tathaiva vāra-
pravṛttayo 'pi kramaśo bhavanti ॥ 25 ॥

iti saṅkrāntimahānakṣatradinamānavārapravṛttisiddhiḥ ॥

da < r > śāvasānāḥ kramaśo 'tra māsā
meṣādisaṅkrāntyupalakṣitāḥ syuḥ ।
caitrādisaṃjñās tv adhikaḥ kṣayaś ca
visaṅkramaḥ saṅkramayugmayuktaḥ ॥ 26 ॥

māsalakṣaṇam ॥

abhīṣṭamāseṣṭatithau tadanto
madhoḥ sitādes tithisañcayo yaḥ ।
tithidhruvordhvasthitasaṅkhyayāsau
vivarjitaḥ śeṣamito gaṇaḥ syāt ॥ 27 ॥

24a °yukto A. col. : °māhānakṣatra° A.

svīyādrirāmā < ṃ > śavivarjito 'sau
gaṇas tithīnāṃ bhagaṇo bhavet saḥ ।
nijāśvidasrāṃśayutas tithīnāṃ
gaṇo bhaved yogagaṇābhidho 'sau ॥ 28 ॥

gaṇāt svakīyāvadhikoṣṭhabhaktāt
saikaṃ phalaṃ syād avadhipramāṇam ।
tasyāvadheḥ śeṣasamānakoṣṭhe
prāgvat tither bhasya yuteś ca siddhiḥ ॥ 29 ॥

abhīṣṭamāseṣṭatithyādisiddhiḥ ॥

iti śīghrasiddhau dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ ॥ *ślokāḥ* 42 ॥

avadhīnām ato vakṣ < y > e kṣepasiddhiṃ yathā bhavet ।
svadeśe tithipūrvāṇāṃ siddhir varṣaśataiḥ sphuṭā ॥ 1 ॥

saurayātacarākhyāni phalāni trividhāny api ।
pūrṇādīnāṃ bhujarkṣāṇāṃ adho 'dho vilikhet kramāt ॥ 2 ॥

tatra nāḍyādisaurāṇi diśo 'nalaśilīmukhāḥ
diśo 'ṅgavahnayo jñeyā gāvo bhujagasōgarāḥ ॥ 3 ॥

bhujaṅgā gaganatriṇi rasāḥ śailāmburāśayaḥ ।
vedā vahnisarinnāthā yugmaṃ tattvāni khaṃ ca kham ॥ 4 ॥

palātmakāni yātāni śūnyaṃ rudrā nakhāni ca ।
tattvāni sāyakākṣiṇi khan < e > trāṇi bhavā nabhaḥ ॥ 5 ॥

5a : palātmikāni A.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

tathā carāṇi khaṃ < dasra > dasrās tryambhodhayas triṣaṭ ।
bhūminmāgā samudrāṅkās tridiśaḥ saptakhendavaḥ ॥ 6 ॥

carāṇi svaphalacchāyāhatāni vibhaje < c > charaiḥ ।
svagrāmajanitāni syus tebhya eva caraṃ bhavet ॥ 7 ॥

gataiṣyaphalayor jñeyaṃ vivaraṃ khaṇḍakāhvayam ।
gatasya tad bhavet svarṇaṃ gatād gamye 'dhikoṇake ॥ 8 ॥

saurākhyaphalasaṃjātakhaṇḍayor antarodbhavaiḥ ।
palair vibhājitā vyomavyomanāgā hṛtir bhavet ॥ 9 ॥

khaṃ śarāmbudhayo bhūpāḥ khaṃ kuvedās trisāyakāḥ ।
pūrṇam aṣṭāgnayo 'ṣṭākṣās tithidhiṣṇyayutigrahāḥ ॥ 10 ॥

graho vyekāvadhighno 'sau ghaṭīṣv adriśarair yutaḥ ।
bhādir arkasya vijñeyaḥ paryāyo bhair gajāśvibhiḥ ॥ 11 ॥

saptabhir bhaiḥ padaṃ jñeyam arkād gatapadonitāt ।
śeṣaṃ bhujo bhaved oje pade 'noje yādā cyutam ॥ 12 ॥

phalam arkabhujarkṣotthaṃ bhujasya ghaṭikādikam ।
dhanarṇakhaṇḍanighnena ṣaṣṭyāptena yutonitam ॥ 13 ॥

bhujanāḍītribhāgena hīnaghnaiḥ pūrṇalocanaiḥ ।
hṛtyuddhṛtair yutaṃ sauraṃ vināḍīṣu sphuṭaṃ bhavet ॥ 14 ॥

prathame < ce >t padasthe 'rke tat sauraṃ dhanasaṃjñakam ।
ṛṇaṃ madhyapadasthe syāt sphuṭo 'rkaḥ saurasaṃskṛtaḥ ॥ 15 ॥

gatair abdais tribhūbhaktair ghaṭīṣv adhikayos tayoḥ ।
sphuṭāsphuṭārkayoḥ sādhye carayāte yathā kramāt ॥ 16 ॥

svarṇaṃ svarṇābhidhaṃ yātaṃ jñeyaṃ ravipadakramāt ।
ādyayoḥ padayor arke caraṃ svam ṛṇam anyayoḥ ॥ 17 ॥

iti raveḥ saurayātacarasiddhiḥ ॥

9a : saurākhye A. 10d : °dhiṣṇyā° A. 15a : prathamītya pada sthed arke A.

nāgāgnayo mahīvedāḥ samudrayugasaṃmitāḥ ।
tithinakṣatrayogānāṃ paramāvadhayo matāḥ ॥ 18 ॥

svasvagrahād dhanarṇāni saurayātacarāṇy ataḥ ।
krameṇāvadhijñātāni kuryād ā paramāvadheḥ ॥ 19 ॥

diśo nandās tathā nandās tithyādyavadhikoṣṭhakāḥ ।
vyeko 'vadhiḥ svakoṣṭhaghno vṛndas tithibhayogajaḥ ॥ 20 ॥

saṃ < s > kṛtaḥ sauranāḍībhis tithivṛndaḥ sphuṭo bhavet ।
yogavṛndo nijāśāṃśahīnābhir vyastasaṃskṛtaḥ ॥ 21 ॥

tithivṛndo nijāmbhodhirasāṃśena vivarjitaḥ ।
bhogākhyaḥ syāt paleṣuno vipādāvadhisaṅkhyayā ॥ 22 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

bhavṛndo bhogasaṃjñaḥ syān nijāmbhodhigajāṃśayuk ।
dvighnāvadhyadribhāgena vighaṭīṣu samanvitaḥ ॥ 23 ॥

nijātyaṣṭilavenono bhogaḥ syād yogasaṃjñakaḥ ।
daśaghnāvadhigobāṇabhāgena ghaṭikāsu yuk ॥ 24 ॥

bhogo vārādikas tasmā < t > tyajet tatparyayaṃ nagaiḥ ।
vṛndaḥ svakendracakreṇa taṣṭaḥ kendraṃ prajāyate ॥ 25 ॥

kendrabhogāv ṛṇau syātāṃ yau yogaprathamāvadheḥ ।
nijābhyām eva cakrābhyāṃ vijñeyau tau viśodhitau ॥ 26 ॥

bhogaḥ paleṣu saṃskāryo yātena ca careṇa ca ।
tathaiva viparītaś ca dvighnasauronmitaiḥ palaiḥ ॥ 27 ॥

rūḍhair bhūmadhyarekhāyāḥ svadeśāntarayojanaiḥ ।
bhogaḥ paleṣu yuktonaḥ khāṅghryūnaiḥ pūrvapaścime ॥ 28 ॥

28d : pūrvapaścamai A.

tithyādināṃ bhavanty eṣā bhogā brahmamatāśritāḥ ।
ta evāryabhaṭoktāḥ syur vinā yātākhyasaṃskṛte ॥ 29 ॥

vilikhya tāni kendrāṇi bhogān apy avadhikramāt ।
svagrāmanāmapūrvābhiḥ kṣeṇatākhyābhir aṅkayet ॥ 30 ।

iti kendrabhogānāṃ kṣepakasiddhiḥ ॥

gataiṣyāvadhisaṃjātasaurāntaradaśāṃśakaḥ ।
ṛṇasvarṇasvasaṃjño 'rkapadebhyaḥ sauracālakaḥ ॥ 31 ॥

cālakasya tu kendrasya kṣayaḥ prākpadayo ravau ।
dhano 'nyapadayor jñeyas tither yogasya cānyathā ॥ 32 ॥

gatakendrād adhaḥsthāpyas tathā yatra dhanarṇayoḥ ।
saurayor antare sādhyo yoga evāntarābhidhaḥ ॥ 33 ॥

iti tithiyogakendrayogacālakasiddhiḥ ॥

vyeko 'vadhis tribhis taṣṭo guṇito 'vadhikoṣṭhakaiḥ ।
dhruvakṣepakasaṃjño 'sau vijñeyaḥ kendrakoṣṭhakaiḥ ॥ 34 ॥

iti dhruvakṣepakasiddhiḥ ॥

gatabhogo nijaiṣyono gamyabhogo gatonitaḥ ।
gatabhogas tathaiṣyonas tithau dhiṣṇye yutau kramāt ॥ 35 ॥

nāḍyādyavayavān teṣāṃ bhajed avadhikoṣṭhakaiḥ ।
ṛṇasvarṇakramāt te syuś cālakā ghaṭikādikāḥ ॥ 36 ॥

29a : vidhyādināṃ A eṣaṃ A 33b : tayā A. 35a : nijaiṣyovc A. 36a : °vayavās A.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

gatabhogeṣū te jñeyās teṣāṃ śeṣapalāni ca ।
nijacālakavat svarṇasaṃjñāni vilikhed adhaḥ ॥ 37 ॥

iti cālakaśeṣapadasiddhiḥ ॥

37c : svarṇe A.

kendracālakasaṃjātaiḥ palaiḥ ṣaṣṭi < r > vibhājitā ।
kendracālakavat svarṇo vijñeyaś chedaśaṃjñakaḥ ॥ 38 ॥

iti tithiyogayoś chedasiddhiḥ ॥

raver vakṣ < y > āmi nakṣatrapraveśe rāśisaṅkrame
bhogasiddhikrameṇātrāvadhayo bhāni rāśayaḥ ॥ < 39 > ॥

avanī nayane viśve gaganākṣīṇi bhagrahaḥ ।
rāśigraho 'tra vijñeyo nayane gaganāśvinaḥ ॥ 40 ॥

arkaḥ prāgvad iha svīyasaureṇa ghaṭikādinā ।
asakṛn nijatithyaṃśahīnena vyastasaṃskṛtaḥ ॥ 41 ॥

śaileṣubhir ghaṭīṣūno viśvaghno 'tha samanvitaḥ ।
nijāṅkāṣṭāśvibhāgena bhogo vārādiko bhavet ॥ 42 ॥

carayātavināḍībhir dvighnasauronmitaiḥ palaiḥ ।
deśāntarapalaiḥ prāgvat saṃskṛtaḥ syāt svadeśajaḥ ॥ 43 ॥

evaṃ brahmoditā bhogā bharāśīnāṃ raver amī ।
vinā yātākhyasaṃskṛtyā bhavanty āryabhaṭoditāḥ ॥ 44 ॥

ravinakṣatrarāśipraveśabhogasiddhiḥ ॥

careṇa parapūrveṇa dvighnena sahitonitāḥ ।
svarṇena ghaṭikās triṃśad dinamānaṃ prajāyate ॥ 45 ॥

ṛṇayor dhanayor aikyaṃ deśāntaracarākhyayoḥ ।
antaraṃ svarṇayor vārapravṛttiḥ syāt palātmikā ॥ 46 ॥

arkodayād dhanarṇo 'sau parataḥ pūrvato bhavet ।
bhabhogeṣu dyumānāni tathā vārapravṛttayaḥ ॥ 47 ॥

jāyante phalavat tebhyaḥ svarṇakhaṇḍavināḍikāḥ ।
bhogāntaradinair bhaktāś cālakās te palādikāḥ ॥ 48 ॥

iti dinamānavārapravṛttisiddhiḥ ॥

iti śrīlakṣmīdharaviracitāyāṃ tithisāraṇyāṃ śīghrasiddhi—saṃjñāyāṃ tṛtīyo 'dhyāyaḥ ॥ *āditaḥ ślokāḥ* 90 ॥

kendre tithyuḍuyogānāṃ pūrṇādrīṇāṃ yathā kramāt ।
nijārdhasvarṇasaṃjñānāṃ kathyante phalapaṅktayaḥ ॥ 1 ॥

nāḍyaḥ palāni khaṃ pūrṇam aṅgāni jalarāśayaḥ ।
īśvarā hutabhugvedā bhūpālāḥ saptavahnayaḥ ॥ 2 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

vyomākṣiṇi mahīrāmā rāmākṣiṇi mahībhuvaḥ ।
saṃskṛtiḥ sāgaratriṇi saṃskṛtiḥ śūnyasindhavaḥ ॥ 3 ॥
pāvakākṣiṇi gīrvāṇā bhūdasrā bhūmilocanāḥ ।
dhṛtir guṇaniśānāthā bhuvanāni nakhāni ca ॥ 4 ॥
gāvaḥ pāvakabhūtāni bāṇā bhūmir dhane dale ।
ṛṇe kendradale khaṃ bhūḥ sāyakās toyarāśayaḥ ॥ 5 ॥
nandāḥ sāyakabhūtāni manavo nayanāśvinaḥ ।
nāgendavaḥ pañcacandrā bhūmidasrās tribāhavaḥ ॥ 6 ॥
tribāhavo yugatriṇi jinā vyomāmburāśayaḥ ।
siddhāḥ sāgararāmāś ca hutāśanayamā nava ॥ 7 ॥
nakhāni nandanetrāṇi nṛpāḥ pañcahutāśanāḥ ।
rudrā bhūmisarinnāthā ṛtavaḥ śaśalāñchanaḥ ॥ 8 ॥

5b : dhanir dale A.

tithikendrārdhayor ukteḥ phalapaṅktī dhanarṇayoḥ ।
nakṣatrakendradalayoḥ phalapaṅktī pravakṣmahe ॥ < 9 ॥ >
bhakendrārdhe dhane khaṃ kham iṣavo vedasindhavaḥ ।
candracandramaso rāmās tithayo bhujagāgnayaḥ ॥ 10 ॥
aṅkacandrā vedacandrā bhūyamā navavikramāḥ ।
dasradasrā gajāmnāyā dasradasrā yugābdhayaḥ ॥ 11 ॥
bhūyamā nāganāsatyā nandaśitakarāḥ śivāḥ ।
ṛtuśītakarāḥ śūnyaṃ dinanāthās turaṅgamāḥ ॥ 12 ॥
śailā rāmasarinnāthā nayane nandasāyakāḥ ।
ṛṇārdhe śītagur dvyakṣā ṛtavo vasusāyakāḥ ॥ 13 ॥
candraśītakarā nāgās tithayo vyomabhūmayaḥ ।
nāgendavo mahīrāmāḥ śītaraśmiyamā yamau ॥ 14 ॥
vilocanayamā dantā dasrākṣiṇi yugeṣavaḥ ।
ākṛtī rajanīnātho gobhuvo 'mbhonidhīṣavaḥ ॥ 15 ॥
aṅgaśītakarā devā dineśāḥ śūnyabhūmayaḥ ।
ṛtavo nandabhūtāni bhūmir vyomayamāḥ kramāt ॥ 16 ॥
athāto yogakendrasya dhanārdhe gaganaṃ nabhaḥ ।
sāgarā rasabhūtāni gāvo vedahutāśanāḥ ॥ 17 ॥
guṇendavo nandaguṇāḥ śailaśītakarā nabhaḥ ।
nandendavo rasākṣiṇi nakhāni guṇasāyakāḥ ॥ 18 ॥
bhūyamā goniśānāthā viṃśatis turagābdhayaḥ ।
gobhūmayo nabhodasrā saptaśītakarāḥ śarāḥ ॥ 19 ॥

10d : bhujagāstrayaḥ A. 17b : nasaḥ A. 18c : nandedayo A.
19b : viṃśatiḥ skaragābdhayaḥ A. 19d : sadā śītakarāḥ A.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

vedāmṛtakarā nandā diśaḥ śītakarābdhayaḥ ।
rasā vasusarinnāthā nayane khāmburāśayaḥ ॥ 20 ॥

ṛṇākhye yogakendrārdhe śītaguḥ svargavāsinaḥ ।
sāyakā guṇacatvāro gāvo gaganasindhavaḥ ॥ 21 ॥

rāmaśītakarā bhūpā bhūpā locanalocanāḥ ।
gajendavo 'ṣṭacatvāro nakhāni navabāhavaḥ ॥ 22 ॥

avanībāhavo 'tyaṣṭir avanīyamalā rasāḥ ।
gobhuvaḥ śarabhūtāni municandrāḥ śarābdhayaḥ ॥ 23 ॥

manavaḥ sāgaratrīṇi diśaḥ sāgarasāgarāḥ ।
rasā muniniśānāthā niśānātho nakhāni ca ॥ 24 ॥

ślok < ā > ṇghryuktaiḥ phalair evaṃ tisraḥ syuḥ phalapaṅktayaḥ ।
vidadhyāt pūrvavat tāsāṃ khaṇḍakāni hṛtis tathā ॥ 25 ॥

dhanarṇakendrayoḥ sandhau phalaikyam ṛṇakhaṇḍakam ।
paṅktyādikhaṇḍatulyaṃ syād ṛṇaṃ paṅktyantakhaṇḍakam ॥ 26 ॥

ṛṇakendradalasyārdhe svakendrārdhadale tathā ।
svarṇakhaṇḍayutir jñeyāntarākhyā hṛtisādhane ॥ 27 ॥

iṣṭakendraghaṭīkṣuṇṇaiḥ ṣaṣṭyāptaiḥ svarṇakhaṇḍakaiḥ ।
saṃskṛtāni phalāni syāt phalapaṅktir abhisthitā ॥ 28 ॥

yatra khaṇḍakasaṃskāre śodhyād alpaṃ phalaṃ bhavet ।
tatra vyastaviśuddhau syā< c > cheṣaṃ phalam ṛṇāhvayam ॥ 29 ॥

tathā tatphalam alpaṃ cec chodhyāt khaṇḍakasaṃskṛtau ।
tatra caiva phalaṃ kuryāt kendrāt paṅk< ti >ṃ tato likhet ॥ 30 ॥

30d : paṃkaṃtato likhyet A.

evaṃ tithyādikendrāṇāṃ pūrṇādighaṭikāṅkitāḥ ।
phalānāṃ paṅktayo lekhyāḥ ṣaṣṭiḥ ṣaṣṭir yathā kramāt ॥ 31 ॥

iṣṭakendraghaṭītryaṃśahīnaghnaiḥ pūrṇalocanaiḥ ।
hṛtyuddhṛtaiḥ paleṣv ādhyā phalapaṅktiḥ sphuṭā bhavet ॥ 32 ॥

yatra saikapuṭe svarṇakendrārdhadvitayāṅkite ।
lekhyās tāḥ paṅktayo 'dho 'dhas tisras tisras tato harāḥ ॥ 33 ॥

madhyādhaḥ paṅktiphalayor antarotthaiḥ palair hṛtā ।
ṣāṣṭir hāro bhavet svarṇo 'dhikone 'dhaḥsthite phale ॥ 34 ॥

iti tithinakṣatrayogakendrāṇāṃ phalapaṅktayoktisiddhiḥ ॥

sābhijiddasrapūrvāṇāṃ bhānāṃ sūkṣmarkṣasiddhaye ।
guṇakāḥ syuḥ kramād rūpaṃ vedavedāḥ śarābdhayaḥ ॥ 35 ॥

abdhayaḥ sāyakā nāgasamudrās turagā gajāḥ ।
kuśarā dviśarās tryakṣāḥ sūryā viśve yugendavaḥ ॥ 36 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

turaṅgaviṣayā bhūpā atyaṣṭiḥ ṣaṣṭir ekaṣaṭ ।
yamartavo mahīdasrā netrāṇi ca śilīmukhāḥ ॥ 37 ॥

sindhavo nandarāmāś ca śūnyavedāḥ śaśī nabhaḥ ।
nāḍībhir aikyasaṃjñābhiḥ < pañca ? > pañcāśadādibhiḥ ॥ 38 ॥

hatā guṇāḥ śarāṣṭāptā jāyante phalapaṅktayaḥ ।
dvādaśaitāḥ krameṇaikyanāḍībhiś cihnitā likhet ॥ 39 ॥

brāhmaṃ mataṃ samāśritya yat syāt tithyādikaṃ sphuṭam ।
tad evātisphuṭaṃ kartuṃ natakarmābhidhaṃ bruve ॥ 40 ॥

likhet triṃśatsu koṣṭheṣu paṅktiyugme yathā kramāt ।
pūrṇādyās triṃśadādyāś ca dhanarṇacandranāḍikāḥ ॥ 41 ॥

kramāt tāsāṃ natāny abhraṃ diśaḥ khākṣīṇi khāgnayaḥ ।
khābdhayo 'ṅkābdhayo 'ṣṭākṣā rasāṅgāni guṇādrayaḥ ॥ 42 ॥

khāṣṭāḥ śaroragāḥ khāṅkāḥ yugāṅkāḥ śailagomitāḥ ।
gajagāvo 'ṅkagosaṅkhyā adhastād utkramāt punaḥ ॥ 43 ॥

natāntarahṛtā ṣaṣṭir hār< ā >kh< y >ādyanatād adhaḥ ।
sthāpyaḥ svarṇābhidhaḥ svādyo v< ā>dhikone 'pare nate ॥ 44 ॥

iti natakoṣṭhakasiddhiḥ ॥

iti śrīlakṣmīdharapaṇḍitaviracitāyāṃ tithisāraṇyāṃ śīghrasiddhau caturtho 'dhyāyaḥ ॥ *āditaḥ ślokāḥ 134* ॥

śrīr astu ॥ *samāptā śrīśīghrasiddhiḥ* ॥

43a : śarorayāḥ A. 43c : ṅkajāsaṃkhyā A. 43d : upātyād A.

Appendix I.

śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ ॥

lakṣmīdharoktatithisāriṇiśīghrasiddhau
bhuktyādikaṃ ca laghusādhyam ato 'bhidhāsye ।

abdaughataḥ svaguṇakair guṇitān nijaiś ca
kṣepair yutāt sulaghu karma janārdano 'ham ॥ 1 ॥

śāko nabhokṣeṣudharonito 'bdā
bhavair guṇais trīṣumitair jinair ghnāḥ ।

rasaiś ca vedāgnibhir agnisaṅkhyair
yuktāḥ kharāmair hṛtaśeṣaśuddhiḥ ॥ 2 ॥

abdā hatāḥ śaśadhareṇa dinaiḥ kurāmair
ghasrair yutāḥ śaśadhareṇa dharāśvibhiś ca ।

rāmais tv athābdapatir adrihṛtāvaśeṣaḥ
syāt tryadripañcakuhṛtābdayuto ghaṭīṣu ॥ 3 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

abdā hatā nagamitaiḥ khayugaiḥ kharāmaiḥ
khākṣair yutā hy atha dinais turagāgnibhiś ca ।
aṅgeṣubhis tithibhayogajamandam etat
khāgnyāptiśeṣakamitaṃ sulaghu prakāram ॥ 4 ॥
anena mārgeṇa kupakṣajāni
bhavanti śuddhyabdapamandakāni ।
tāny eva bhaṭṭāryamatoditāni
hīnāni nāḍyādibhir antarākhyaiḥ ॥ 5 ॥
tri< stho > 'bdavṛnda iṣubhānubhir agniśaila-
bāṇendubhiḥ ṣaḍiṣubhir vihṛtaḥ phalāḍhyāḥ ।
śailāḥ guṇās triśaśino 'ntaranāḍikāḥ kha-
vedāḥ śaśī rasadṛśo 'ntarajā vināḍyaḥ ॥ 6 ॥
śuddhiḥ svabhogyāvayavair yutā ca
tithidhruvaḥ syād bhayutidhruvau staḥ ।
virūpaśuddheś ca daśāṃśahīnā
pūrvā svabhogyāvayavair yutā ca ॥ 7 ॥
tithyādikānāṃ dhruvanāḍikā < nāṃ >
svābdhyaṅgabhāgena vihīnam ekam ।
svābdhyaṣṭabhāgāḍhyam athāparaṃ ca
< syād a > nyad atyaṣṭilavena hīnam ॥ 8 ॥
tad abdapāḍhyaṃ ca pṛthag nidheyaṃ
syur bhogakās tithyuḍuyogajās te ।
bhāgeṣu śailair bhayutidhruve 'dri-
dasrair hṛtiḥ pūrṇaguṇais titheḥ syāt ॥ 9 ॥
mandaṃ gajenduguṇitaṃ navaśāstradasrair
akṣāṅkabhūmibhir agāgninagair bhajet tat ।
labdhonitaṃ pṛthag idaṃ ca tridhāsthamandaṃ
kendrāṇi vai dhruva < kajā > vayavair yutaṃ sat ॥ 10 ॥
pañcāṅgasiddher upakārakāṇi
etāni pakṣadvayajāni nūnam ।
ity atra śuddhaṃ yadi vāpy aśuddhaṃ
tat sūribhiḥ śodhyam ahaṃ natas tān ॥ 11 ॥
śuciḥ sthiraḥ saṅgamaneravāsī
śrīrāmapādārpitacittavṛttiḥ ।
yajñopavītīty upanāma yasya
janārdano 'sau vyadadhād yathoktam ॥ < 12 ॥ >

iti kiṃcitprakārant < or > eṇa brāhmāryopakaraṇasiddhiḥ ॥

10d ; vaibhijadhruvāvayavair B.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Appendix II.

I. Table described in III. 3-6.

bhujarkṣāṇi	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
sauraphalāni	10,53	10,36	9,48	8,30	6,47	4,43	2,25	0,0
saurakhaṇḍāni	−0,17	0,48	1,18	1,43	2,4	2,18	2,25	0,0
saurahṛtayaḥ	26	27	32	38	57	114		
yātaphalāni	0	11	20	25	25	20	11	0
khaṇḍāni	+11	9	5	+0	−5	9	11	−0
carapalāni	0	22	43	63	81	94	103	107
khaṇḍakāni	+22	21	20	18	13	9	4	0

2. Table described in IV. 2-24. Scribal mistakes are underlined.

ūrdh-	*tihi*			*nakṣatra*			*yoga*		
vāṅkāḥ	*kendra*	*khaṇḍa*	*hṛti*	*kendra*	*khaṇḍa*	*hṛti*	*kendra*	*khaṇḍa*	*hṛti*
0	+0,0	6,4	800	+0,0	5,44	800	+0,0	4,56	800
1	6,4	5,39	32	5,44	5,19	32	4,56	4,38	**24**
2	11,43	4,54	18	11,3	4,35	18	9,34	4,5	24
3	16,37	3,54	13	15,38	3,36	13	13,39	3,21	18
4	20,31	**2,39**	11	19,14	2,25	11	17,0	2,26	15
5	23,11	**1,24**	11	21,39	+1,9	11	19,26	1,27	13
6	24,34	+0,6	10	22,48	-0,4	11	20,53	+0,26	13
7	24.40	−1,7	11	22,44	1,16	11	21,19	-0,32	14
8	23,33	2,12	12	21,28	2,17	13	20,47	1,27	15
9	21,21	3,8	14	19,11	3,11	14	19,20	2,15	17
10	18,13	3,53	18	16,0	3,53	19	17,5	2,56	19
11	14,20	4,27	23	12,7	4,24	25	14,9	3,28	25
12	9,53	4,52	**25**	7,43	4,44	40	10,41	3,53	32
13	+5,1	**-5,0**	100	+2,59	<4,5>1	114	6,48	4,8	53
14	−0,1	+5,3	200	−1,52	+5,6	**16**	+2,40	**-1,7**	**16**
15	5,4	4,51	67	6,58	4,10	**50**	−1,33	+4,10	**167**
16	9,55	4,27	33	11,8	4,2	**27**	5,43	**3,56**	**61**
17	14,22	3,53	23	15,10	3,21	**29**	9,40	**3,37**	**38**
18	18,15	3,8	18	18,31	2,31	**26**	13,16	3,6	**27**
19	21,23	2,11	14	21,2	1,30	13	16,22	2,26	20
20	23,34	+1,6	12	22,32	+0,22	12	18,48	1,41	18
21	24,40	-0,6	11	22,54	-0,53	**13**	20,29	+0,48	**16**
22	24,34	1,25	10	22,1	<2,7>	**15**	21,17	-0,11	13
23	23,9	2,40	11	19,54	**3,20**	**18**	21,6	1,11	13
24	20,29	3,54	11	16,33	4,23	**24**	19,55	2,10	13
25	16,35	4,54	13	12,10	5,11	17	17,45	3,11	**14**
26	11,41	5,40	17	6,59	5,39	29	14,34	3,50	**17**
27	-6,1	**5,54**	33	1,20	**1**	**16**	10,44	4,27	21
28							6,17	4,57	36
29							−1,20	−4,27	**200**

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda

The Journal is published every year in three parts. These parts are devoted respectively to topics relating to (1) Humanities, (2) Social Sciences and (3) Science.

Advertisement tariff will be sent on request.

Communications pertaining to the Journal should be addressed to:

The Editor (Humanities/Social Sciences/Science)
Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda
Faculty of Arts Compound
Baroda-390 002 (India)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CONTRIBUTION OF AṢṬACHĀPA POETS TO THE NORTH INDIAN MUSIC

By

C. J. NAYAK*

Indian Art, particularly Indian Music is spiritual and emotional. According to Indian thinkers Music is a spiritual *Sādhanā* and is a better means to create aesthetic sense. This aim is very well achieved by the *Aṣṭachāpa* poets of the Vaiṣṇava sect of Vallabhācārya, the doyen of the Śuddhādvaita philosophy. One of the most outstanding features of Vallabha School is the realization of the idea of *Sakhās*, i.e. friends. Vallabhācārya puts emphasis on friendship with God and his followers in his preachings. In Vaiṣṇava tradition, we know that *Sakhya*, friendship is condsidered an integral part of Bhakti. Śrīmad Vallabhācārya had eight *Sakhās*, friends who were great poets and composers of Music. In Vaiṣṇava tradition of Vallabhācārya, these eight poets are considered as "AṢṬACHĀPA POETS." Their contribution to the Medieval Hindi Poetry and North Indian Music is considered of very high value. They have attracted the attention of many scholars for research in Hindi poetry. Equally their contribution to the North Indian Music is also very high. But this aspect is not much more explored. In this paper, I have tried to give some idea about their contribution to the North Indian Music. I have based my information for this paper on the life-sketches published in Hindi by the Shreenāthjī Trust in general and one important work in Hindi published by Pandit Champaklal Nayak in two parts viz. "*Aṣṭachāpīya Bhakti Saṅgīta : Udbhava Aura Vikāsa.*"

A brief account of these *Aṣṭachāpa* poets will be useful in evaluating their contribution to the North Indian Music.

1. *KUMBHANADĀSA :* He was the first friend and poet of Vallabha-tradition. He belonged to Gaurava Kṣatriya caste. Though he came from a very poor family he evolved a very good culture through his thought, poetry and music—Right from his childhood, he was brought up in a religious atmosphere by his uncle Dharmadāsa. Fortunately he possessed very sweet voice and he cultivated it successfully through music. He became a disciple of Vallabhācārya and completely surrendered himself to the services of Lord Govardhananāthajī. He has composed many devotional songs in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Akbar, the Great Mughal, was impressed by his literary and musical compositions.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2. Sept.-December, 1987 issue, pp. 83-87.

* H. K. Arts College, Ahmedabad 380009 (Gujarat Uni.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The devotional *Padas* sung by Kumbhanadāsa were composed in the various *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* of the North Indian Music. These were : Bhairva, Rāmakali, Rāmagiri, Devagandhāra, Lalita, Bibhāsa, Bilāvala, Toḍī Āsāvarī, Dhanāśrī, Jaitasrī, Sāmeśrī, Vasanta, Megha-Malhāra, Pañcama, Mālakauṁsa, Sāraṅga, Soraṭha, Mallāra, Naṭa, Naṭa-Nārāyaṇa, Gaurī, Śrī, Mālava, Pūrvī, Hamīra, Kalyāṇa, Kedāra, Kānarā, etc. In the Puṣṭimārgīya tradition of Vallabhācārya Kumbhanadāsa is considered Ādya Kīrtanakāra and poet with divine qualities.

2. *SŪRADĀSA :* In the realm of Hindi poetic literature the contribution of Sūradāsa is of high value. The beauty of Vraja dielect is very well exposed in his poetic and devotional compositions. In Hindi literature, there are more than five poets bearing this name. Out of these five, three poets are well-known (1) Bīlva Maṅgala Sūradāsa, (2) Madanamohana Sūradāsa and (3) Sūradāsa of *Aṣṭachāpa* poets group. The third one was a disciple of Śrīmad Vallabhācārya. He belonged to a place called Gau-ghāṭa situated between Āgra and Mathurā. He was blind by birth. Many myths are woven around his life. When he embraced the religion of Vallabhācārya, he was inspired to compose literary and musical compositions. He has to his credit hundreds of *Padas* describing the glories of the various *Līlās* of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He completely surrendered himself and became a life-long servant of Vallabhācarya. In the *Sūra-Sūrava* there is a mention of Six *Rāgas* and 36 *Rāgiṇīs* sung by him. The six *Rāgas* are : Śrī, Vasanta, Bhairava, Pañcama, Megha and Naṭa. It is believed that the Sūra-Malhāra *Rāga* is the product of Sūradāsa. Akbar, the great mughal and Rājā Mānasinha were impressed by the literary and musical compositions of Sūradāsa.

3. *KṚṢṆADĀSA :* He was the third friend of Vallabhācārya. He came from Gujarat. He belonged to a Kaṇabī Patel community and his father was a village headman. Kṛṣṇadāsa, loved religious stories and devotional music from his childhood. He disliked the activities of his father. He had many indifferences with his father. For this reason, he left his home and started on a pilgrimage. He came to Vraja and became a fervent devotee of Vallabhācārya. As he was well versed in accounts he was appointed as an accountant of Śrīnāthajī temple. He used to collect revenue from the neighbouring villages. He came into close contact with Kumbhandāsa, Sūradāsa and Paramanandadāsa and some other poets and saints of Vallabha sect. He was inspired to compose literary and musical compositions. He used to sing his *Padas* in the 36 *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* of North Indian Music. These were : Bhairava, Rāmakalī, Lalita, Mālakauṁsa, Rāmagiri, Devagandhāra, Bibhāsa, Hiṇḍol, Vasanta, Pañcama, Bilāvala, Sūhā, Gurjarī, Toḍī, Dhanāśrī, Āsāvari, Sāraṅga, Soraṭha, Megha-Mallhāra, Naṭa-Nārayaṇa, Mālava Gauḍa, Naṭa, Gaurī, Mālava, Pūrvī, Srī, Mārū, Kāḷī, Kalyāṇa, Hamīra, Kedāra, Āḍāṇā, Jaijaivantī, Nāyakī, Bihāga, etc., etc.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

4. *PARMĀNANDADĀSA :* He came from a Brahmin family of Kanyakubja. Though his father was poor, he managed to educate him. He learnt Sanskrit and Music. At the age of 16, he attended the *Kumbhamelā* at Prayāga. Here he attracted the people by his devotional singing. Gradually he came in contact with Vallabhācārya at village Aḍel. He was impressed by the teachings of Vallabhācārya and became his disciple. He was inspired to compose literary and musical compositions to sing the *Līlās* of Lord Krishṇa. He used to sing his compositions in the Six *Rāgas* and 36 *Rāgiṇīs* of the North Indian Music.

The following four poets were disciples of Shri Viṭhṭhalanāthajī, the second son of Srimad Vallabhācārya. They were also fervent devotees of Vallabha sect and contributed much to the literary and musical compositions of Puṣṭi tradition.

5. *GOVINDASWĀMĪ :* He came from a Brahmin family of village Āṇtarī of Bharatpur District. We have no historical data about his early life. In his young age he left his village and came to settle in Mahāgrām, a village of Vraja. Here he was impressed by the teachings of Viṭhṭhalanathajī and became his disciple. Govindaswāmī now become Govindadāsa. He was inspired to compose many literary and musical compositions in priase of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He completely surendered himself in the services of Guṅsāiji. Looking to his qualities, he was awarded first rank of *Mukhiā* (Main singer) in all the eight singers of the temple. He used to sing the *Līlās* of Lord Kṛṣṇa in all the Six *Rāgas* and thirty *Rāgiṇīs* of the North Indian Music.

6. *CHHITASWĀMĪ :* He belonged to the Chauba family of Mathurā. In his early life, he was popular as a ' Guṇḍā ' and a ' Robber '. He came into close contact with Viṭhṭhalnathajī. He was inspired by his preachings and decided to be his disciple. He surrendered his life in the services of Guṅsāijī. After adopting the *Puṣṭi* principles, he started to compose devotional songs praising the *Līlās* of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He has made best use of Six *Rāgas* and 36 *Rāgiṇīs* of the North Indian Music.

7. *CHATURBHUJADĀSA :* He was the seventh son of Śrī Kumbhanadāsa, the first poet and friend of *Aṣṭachāpa* tradition. He was born at Jamnuvata village of Mathurā District. He was trained in poetry and music. With the rich cultural heritage of his father, he decided to surrender his life completely to the services of Śrīnāthjī. He became disciple of Viṭhṭhalanāthajī. He has to his credit many literary and musical compositions. He sang all the 42 *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* of the North Indian Music. His contribution to *Rāga* Kedāra is considered noteworthy.

8. *NANDADĀSA :* He is the last and the eighth *Sakhā*—friend in the *Aṣṭachāpa* tradition. He belonged to a village Rāmpur near Soron. He was

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

taken care by his grand-mother, as he had lost his parent in the early childhood. He studied Sanskrit at Kāśī. Later on, he used to earn his livelihood by story-telling and singing *Bhajanas*. Tradition says that while he was on a pilgrimage of Dwārkā, he came into close contact with Śrī Viṭhṭhalanathajī. He was much impressed by his thought and preachings. He embraced his thought and decided to surrender completely his life in the services of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He was inspired to compose many literary and musical compositions. He sang the glories of *Līlās* of Lord Kṛṣṇa in all the traditional 42 *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* of the North Indian Music.

It is interesting to mention here the concept of '*Sevā*' in Vallabhacarya's tradition. All these *Sakhās* and poets use to render '*Mānasī Sevā*' through their beautiful poetic and musical compositions. The other two *Sevās* are '*Vittajā*' and *Tanujā* i.e. '*Śarīajā*'. i.e. services to be rendered with the help of *Vitta* i.e. wealth in the form a donation. Those devotees who are unable to render *Mānasī* and *Vittajā* services, can render services with their body. They can sweep the temple, they can prepare *Mālās* and *Gajarās* for the Lord, they can prepare clothes for the Lord, etc., etc.

The *Sevā* in Vallabha tradition is also eight-fold. i.e. *Maṅgalā-Sevā, Śṛṅgāra-Sevā, Rājabhoga-Sevā, Utthāpana-Sevā, Saṅdhyā-Sevā, Śayana-Sevā, Śaiyyā-Sevā*, etc. In all these types of *Sevās*, devotional songs are sung according to seasons and time.

The *Padas* sung in praise of *Līlās* of Lord Kṛṣṇa, are popularly known as '*Dhruvapada*' and '*Dhamāra*' in the North Indian tradition of Music. It is generally believed that *Dhruvapada* is the product of the Gwalior State and Raja Māna Singh Tomara was the first to devise and introduce it during the 15th century A.D. This *Dhruvapada* form became popular in the Vaiṣṇava tradition of Śrīmad Vallabhācārya and in the royal court of the Mughal Emperors. During the rule of Mohammed Shah, in the beginning of the 18th century A.D., this form become more popular. The two royal singers of the court of this emperor are worth mentioning. They are Niyāmat Khān popularly known as Sadāraṅga, and Adāraṅga.

I personally believe that the *Dhruvapada* tradition of North Indian Music must have some roots in the '*Dhruvās*' and '*Padas*' of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata has given elaborate treatment in the XXXII Adhyāya of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to this peculiar type of literary composition. *Nāṭyaśāstra* informs us that the '*Dhruvās*' are so called, because in it words, *Varṇas, Alaṁkāras*, tempo, *Jāti* and *Paṇis* are regularly (*Dhruvam*) connected with one another.[1] It further informs us that

1 Ramkrishnakavi and Pade J. S.: *Naṭyaśastra of Bharata with the Comm. Abhinavabhāratī* Pub., by the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda. 1964, G.O.S. 145, Vol. IV, 32. 8

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Dhruvās are of five types : *Prāveśikī, Ākṣepikī, Naśkrāmikī, Prāsādikī* and *Antarā*.[2] From the description of *Dhruvās* in the NS., I can say that *Dhruvās* were lyrics in various metrical settings used for dramatic productions. Like *Dhruvās*, *Padas* are mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. *Padas*, were purely literary compositions. According to Bharata *Pada* forms the *Vāstu* of *Gāndharva* type of music.[3] The *Padas* are constituted of *Akṣaras*. They are of two types : *Nibaddha* and *Anibaddha*. The ancient tradition of *Dhruvā* and *Pada* is a problem of further research.

Dhamāra is a musical composition sung in that *Tāla*. It is generally sung during the *Holi* festival in Vaiṣṇava temples. To-day, this tradition is practically lost.

Thus, from the above information, it can be said that the *Aṣṭachāpa Sakhās* i.e. friends and poets of Vallabha tradition have contributed much to the North Indian Music.

2 *Ibid*, 32. 26-27.
3 *Ibid*, 32. 28

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

THE GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES

GOS. Nos.

30 TATTVASAṄGRAHA—Vol. I (Sanskrit Text)—Edited by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya (Reprinted; 1984) Rs. 165.00

156 GAṄGADĀSA-PRATĀPAVILĀSA-NĀṬAKAM—by Gaṅgādhara—Edited by B. J. Sandesara and Pandit Amritlal M. Bhojak (1973) Rs. 12.00

157 ZAFAR UL WĀLIH BI MUZAFFAR WA ĀLIHI—An Arabic History of Gujarat Vol. II—by Abdullāh Muhammad Al-Makki Al-Āṣafi Al-Ulughkhāni Ḥajji Ad-Dabir, Translated into English by M. F. Lokhandwala (1974) Rs. 50.00

158 A DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRINTED TEXTS OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRĀGAMA, Vol. I—by Daniel Smith (1975) Rs. 50.00

159 SATYASIDDHIŚĀSTRA—of Harivarman, Vol. I—Sanskrit Text from Chinese translation by N. A. Sastri (1976) Rs. 65.00

160 ĀGAMAPRĀMĀṆYA—of Yāmunācārya—Edited by M. Narasimhachary (1976) Rs. 18.00

161 SMṚTICINTĀMAṆI—of Gaṅgāditya—Edited by Ludo Rocher (1976) Rs. 26.00

162 VṚDDHAYAVANAJĀTAKA—of Mīnarāja, Vol. I—Edited by David Pingree (1976) Rs. 94.00

163 VṚDDHAYAVANAJĀTAKA—of Mīnarāja, Vol. II—Edited by David Pingree (1977) Rs. 64.00

164 SOḌHALA-NIGHAṆṬU (Nāmasaṅgraha and Guṇasaṅgraha) of Vaidyācārya Soḍhala—Edited by Priya Vrat Sharma (1978) Rs. 53.00

165 SATYASIDDHI ŚĀSTRA—of Harivarman—Vol. II (English translation)—by N. A. Sastri (1978) Rs. 92.00

166 ŚAKTISAṄGAMA TANTRA—Vol. IV : CHINNAMASTĀ KHAṆḌA—Edited by Late B. Bhattacharyya & Pandit Vrajavallabha Dvivedi (1978) Rs. 49.00

167 KṚTYAKALPATARU—of Bhaṭṭa Laxmīdhara : PRATIṢṬHĀKĀṆḌA Vol. IX—Edited by Late K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (1979) Rs. 53.00

168 A DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRINTED TEXTS OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRĀGAMA—Vol. II—AN ANNOTATED INDEX TO SELECTED TOPICS by H. Daniel Smith (1980) Rs. 41.00

169 NYĀYĀLAṄKĀRA—of Abhayatilaka Upādhyāya Edited by A. L. Thakur & Late J. S. Jetly (1981) Rs. 143.00

170 TṚCABHĀSKARA by Bhāskararāya Edited by R. G. Sathe (1982) Rs. 53.00

171 ŚRĪ GAṆEŚAVIJAYAKĀVYAM Edited by B. N. Bhatt Rs. 46.00

Can be had of :

MANAGER, UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS SALES UNIT, University Press Premises, Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda-390 001, Gujarat, India.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

UTSAVANIRṆAYAMAÑJARĪ—A RARE AND UNPUBLISHED WORK OF GAṄGĀDHARA, A SCHOLAR FROM GUJARAT

By
M. L. WADEKAR*

Introductory—

The *Utsavanirṇayamañjarī* is a rare and unpublished work on Dharmaśāstra, written by a scholar, Gaṅgādhara, who was residing in Gujarat, during 17th century A.D. This monumental work contains descriptions of several festivals, occurring throughout the year, from the standpoint of Dharmaśāstra. This work is quite unique as it is written in a special and peculiar style by the author. Unlike the other digests on Dharmaśāstra, it incorporates elucidation of festivals of the year in verses of several metres, composed mostly by the author himself, expatiating those festivals and giving the author's own opinions and decisions, regarding their observance, without generally referring to or quoting the views of other scholars, as is generally met with in other Dharmaśāstra-works. Secondly, it is quite rare and important work, the complete manuscript of which is available in the Oriental Institute of Baroda. Thirdly, being the treatise of a scholar from Gujarat, it naturally contains exposition of peculiar religious observances of Gujarat and of *vaiṣṇava* cult. This fact also enhances the importance and significance of this unknown and unpublished work.

Description of the manuscript—

The rare manuscript of this work is available in the Oriental Institute of Baroda (its accession No. being 2375). It is a complete manuscript, written in *Devanāgarī* script, containing twenty-one folios. The *grantha saṅkhyā* of this work is about 700. It is copied on a paper of 28 cms. × 15 cms. size, written on both sides, with about 42 to 46 letters to a line and about 15 to 17 lines to a page or one side of the folio. There is a mistake in the numbering of the folios, which total twentyone (but not twenty as noted by the scribe). There is a repetition of number four in numbering the folios by the scribe. In the margin there is reference to the work in short-form as Ti. Ma. (i.e. *Tithimañjarī*) or sometimes as Ti. Ni. Ma. (i.e. *Tithiniraṇayamañjarī*). Similarly in the Introductory verse and colophons to some *adhyāyas*, the work is

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept.–December, 1987 issue, pp. 89-125.

* Oriental Institute, Baroda.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

referred to as *Nirṇayamañjarī*,[1] while in colophon to some *adhyāya*s and the concluding *śloka*, the work is explicitly referred to as *Utsavanirṇayamañjarī*.[2]

The scribe and his Date—

In the post-colophon entries,[3] there is explicit mention of the scribe, the copyist of the manuscript, along with his name and reference to his home and date of copying the manuscript. He was a scholar from Gujarat, residing in Gauḍala (probably present Gonḍala). His name was Lakṣmīdhara and his father's name was Īśvara. In the writing of the scribe also, there is some kind of impression of the characters of the Gujarati script. Sometimes the scribe has preserved lacunae in the text, which indicate his fidelity and faithfulness. The copying of the manuscript was completed by the scribe on Wednesday of second day of bright half of *Āśvina* month in *saṁvat* 1866 (*śake* 1731 i.e. 1810 A.D.). This clearly shows the time of the scribe.

The Author Gaṅgādhara—

In the concluding verses of the work, the author has described in brief his family background, the period of composition of the text and the nature of the text. He was a scholar named Gaṅgādhara, son of Nṛsiṁha, born in the highly cultured family of Brāhmaṇas of *Bhāradvāja Gotra* and *Vālakhilya* family.[4] From his *Gotra*, it appears that he was a follower of *Yajurveda*, because *Vālakhilya Brāhmaṇa*s of *Bhāradvāja Gotra* are the followers of *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*.[5] There was a happy union of *Śrī* (wealth) and *Sarasvatī* (scholarship) in his family. The present work is composed by him in three-hundred and eleven (311) verses, expounding *Sacchāstra* (the auspicious science), with the grace of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa.

In the other concluding verse,[6] the author has referred to his home and the period of the composition of the text. He mentions in clear terms that he was residing in an auspicious city, situated on the bank of the heavenly river, created by Kaśyapa. He has completed this work on Wednesday of ninth Day of the *Caitra* month in the *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1545 (i.e. 1623 A.D.) and dedicated it to the Lotus-feet of Lord Hari.

---

1 उत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी (उ. नि. मं.) text (Manuscript Acc. No. 2375 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda)—1.1 and colo. to adh. 1.

2 *Ibid;* colo. to adh. 2, and adh. 14; also 14.25.

3 *Ibid;* Scribe's note after adh. 14.

4 *Ibid;* 14.24.

5 Babaria Indraji Mulaji : trans. *Vālakhilya Purāṇa*, Bombay, 1894, adh. 12, p. 50.

6 उ. नि. मं. 14.25.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

As mentioned previously, the author was residing in a city, situated on the bank of the heavenly river, created by Kaśyapa. There is a description of a *suranadī*, brought to the earth by Kaśyapa, in the *Sābhramatī-māhātmya* of the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Uttara*. 135).[7] It is quite evident that Sābhramatī, described there, is most probably the present Sābaramatī river. The author may be presumed to be a resident of Ahmedabad.

The work—*Utasavanirṇayamañjarī*—

The work, as suggested by its very title, contains exposition of several festivals of the year in totally 311 (three hundred eleven) *ślokas*, composed mostly by the author himself, in several metres. He has given his own decisive opinions regarding the time or period of the observance of those festivals, without referring to or discussing the views of others. Corresponding to the twelve months of the year, there is elucidation-in twelve *adhyāyas*- of important festivals of each month, beginning from the *Caitra* upto the month of the *Fālguna*. The observances and vows of the *Adhika* or *Puruṣottama-māsa* are dealt with in the 13th *adhyāya* and in the last i.e. the 14th *adhyāya*, some vows, common to all the months and those observed on the peculiar lunar days are also delineated. The work is concluded with two important verses, giving ample information, regarding the author, his time, his place of residence and his family-background and the present metrical work on Dharmaśāstra, composed by him.

Influence of Vaiṣṇava Cult—

There are several evidences in the text that reflect upon the influence of the *Vaiṣṇava* cult on the author. He has praised the lotus like feet of the Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa in the beginning and concluding verses.[8] The lotus like feet of Śrīkṛṣṇa are not only the bestowers of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* but also are the destroyers of the threefold miseries of the devotee. With the Grace of the said Lord only, the author has composed the *Nirṇayamañjarī*, awakening understanding regarding the auspicious religious duties. Similarly, the author has dedicated the present work to the lotus-feet of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa in the concluding verse. Thus the author has explicitly shown his dedication to the Lord Kṛṣṇa, indicating his leaning towards *Vaiṣṇava* cult.

In the exposition of festivals also, he has described several festivals, that are purely related to *Vaiṣṇava* cult. e.g. *Vallabhotsava*, *Rādhāṣṭamī*, *Rāsotsava*, *Gokulanāthotsava*, *Viṭṭhaleśotsava*, *Govardhanoddhāraṇāgamanotsava*, *Viṣṇorāndolotsava*, *Viṣṇordolotsava*, *Puṣpamaṇḍallyutsava* etc. The description of all these

---

7 Ksemaraj Srikrsnadas, ed. The *Padmapurāṇa;* Venk. ed., Bombay, Śake 1817, reprint by Nag Publishers, Delhi-7, Third part, Uttara and Kriyā; Uttara adh. 135.

8 उ. नि. मं. 1.1 and 14.25.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Vaiṣṇava festivals suggests that the author had great acquaintance with such *Vaiṣṇava* festivals. He might be a follower of the *Vaiṣṇava* cult.

Some Remarkable Peculiarities—

The author has very vividly and accurately described the festivals namely, the *Śītalāsaptamī* and the *Pārvatīvrata*, which are most significant as they are practised in Gujarat only, in the manner described by him.[9] The eating of stale and cold food on *Śītalāsaptamī* day and worship of Goddess Pārvatī, during *Gorā* festival are the most peculiar observances in Gujarat. Nevertheless, the elucidation of the *Maṅgalāgaurī Vrata*[10] is remarkable, as it is observed especially by Maharastrians on the day and manner, depicted by the author. The name *ajāpratipat* reminds us of the Marāṭhī term *ājepāḍavā*, employed for the same festival. Generally, there is a practice of following *Vikrama Saṁvata* in Gujarat, but the author has referred specifically to the *Śālivāhana Śaka* in the concluding verse.[11] These facts may indicate that the author was definitely a scholar influenced by and acquainted with Maharastrian customs and practices.

The text of this monumental work of the author is presented herewith. There are numerous grammatical and metrical defects in it, but it is after a a metrical work, not of a grammarian, but of a Dharmaśāstra scholar, w according to his knowledge and ability has tried his best to present the schola Dharmaśāstra matter in compositions of different metres. The author rea deserves great praise and compliments for such a novel attempt.

---

9 *Ibid;* 4.11 and 5.18.

10 *Ibid;* 5.3.

11 *Ibid;* 14.25.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

गङ्गाधरकृता

उत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी

॥ प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

श्रीमत्त्रिपुरसुन्दर्यै नमः ।

अथ निर्णयमञ्जरी ।

श्रीमत्कृष्णपदारविन्दयुगलं धर्मार्थकामप्रदं
ब्रह्मेन्द्राद्युप[1]कल्पितं च भजतां तापत्रयोन्मूलनम् ।
वन्दे तत्कृपया करोमि सकलां सत्कर्मसंबोधिनीं
श्रीमन्निर्णयमञ्जरीं च विदुषां सौख्याय धर्माय वै ॥ १ ॥

अथ चैत्रमासस्य मासेश्वरादीनाह—

चैत्राधीश्वरविष्णुवाक्यविधिना भानुवि(र्वि)यन्मण्डलं
पौलस्त्योदितवेदमन्त्रविभवाच्छ्रीवासुकीभ्यां सह ।
संचाराध्वनि वाद्यवादनपरः स्यात्तुम्बरुर्नृत्य(र्नर्त)की
नृत्यन्वै सुकृतस्थलीति विभवान्मासं नयन्ति ध्रुवम् ॥ २ ॥

संवत्सरारम्भनिर्णयः —

चैत्रे या प्रतिपत्तिथिश्च धवले सूर्योदयव्यापिनी
ग्राह्या वै विबुधैश्च [2]निश्चलधिया संवत्सरारम्भके ।
व्याप्ता युग्मदिनेऽथ नो भवति चेत्पूर्वा हिता नापरा
तद्वारस्तु सभापतिर्भवति वै मासेऽधिसंज्ञेऽपि च ॥ ३ ॥

इति वर्षपतिनिर्णयः ।

अथ संवत्सरारम्भव्रतम्—

वर्षारम्भतिथौ व्रतं वितनुयात्सत्सौख्यलाभाय वै
धातारं सुविधानवेदविधिना संपूजयेद्भक्तिमान् ।

---

१ प्रतिजितं in marg. २ निश्च in marg.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

तस्यां निर्जलभूमिमार्गविषये कुर्यात्प्रपारम्भणं
लक्ष्म्या हीनजनैस्तु धर्मघटको विप्राय संदापयेत् ॥ ४ ॥

इति प्रपा ।

अथ नवरात्र्युत्सवः —

चैत्रे चण्डिविधानके च प्रतिद्राह्या द्वितीयान्विता
शुद्धा वा नवरात्रिके तिथिलयो वृद्धिर्न दोषाय वै ।
अष्टम्यां हवनं च पूजनविधी(धिस्) तत्पारणे भोजने
स्वाचारान्नवमी तथैव दशमी पूर्वान्विते तेपिते ॥ ५ ॥

विद्याप्रतिपद्व्रतम्—

वर्षाद्यप्रतिपद्दिने च विबुधैः कुर्याच्च विद्याव्रतं
तीर्थस्नानविधिं उपोषितनरो ब्रह्माणमाब्जे दले ।
वेदादीन्विधिनार्चयेद्भिभवतो मासे च मासे पुन—
र्वर्षान्ते द्विजभोजनं च सुरभि(भी)दानात्सुविद्यान्वितः ॥ ६ ॥

आरोग्यप्रतिपद्—

चैत्रस्याद्यदिने व्रतं वितनुयादारोग्यसंज्ञं व्रती
स्नात्वा पद्मजले रवेश्च यजनं होमं पयाद्यैः फलैः ।
दध्नापूपसितान्वितैर्द्विजवरान्संतोष्य विप्राज्ञया
भ्रासं वा सुजलं ग्रहेत विधिवदारोग्यसौख्याय वै ॥ ७ ॥

अथ तिलकव्रतम्—

चैत्रस्याद्यदिने व्रतं सुतिलकं कुर्यान्नरैर्नारिभिः
स्नात्वा तीर्थजलैः सुगन्धविरजैः कृत्वा सुदेहाकृतिम् ।
वर्षाद्यैस्तु सुनाममन्त्रविभवैः संपूज्य तच्चूर्णयुक्
श्रीखण्डं तिलकं चरेत्य(द)नुदिनं दुर्विघ्नविध्वंसनम् ॥ ८ ॥

अथ सौभाग्यशयनव्रतम्—

चैत्रे या तृतिया सिताप्युदयगा तस्यां च नारीजनैः
सौभाग्यं शयनं व्रतं वितनुयाद्गौरीश्वरं पूजयेत् ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

सौभाग्याष्टकदानभक्षणपरा शुक्लतृतीयासु वै
पूर्णेऽब्दे शयनीं च हेमप्रतिमादानं सुसौभाग्यदम् ॥ ९ ॥

अथ गौर्या दोलोत्सवम्(वः)—

चैत्रे वै गिरिजातिथौ व्रतवती गौरीश्वरं पूजये–
दान्दोले विनिधाय चोत्सवपरा नारी सुपुत्रं लभेत ।
तस्मिन्नेव दिने ह्यरुन्धतिवसिष्ठं पूजयेत्प्रार्थये–
त्सा सौभाग्यमखण्डितं लभति वै तुर्ये हि होमार्चनम् ॥ १० ॥

अथ मत्स्यजयन्ती—

शुक्ला गौरितिथौ मधौ दिनमुखव्याप्तासु कुर्याद्व्रतं
मत्स्याख्यं सुहरिं पराह्णसमये संपूजयेत्तद्व्रती ।
सा मन्वादिकसंज्ञिता च परमा पित्र्यर्चने तृप्तिदा
मासे वै पुरुषोत्तमे यदि भवेच्छ्राद्धं च मासद्वये ॥ ११ ॥

अथ कल्पादितिथिः —

या पञ्चमी चैत्रसिते विभागे
कल्पादिका स्यात्सवितोदयाढ्या ।
स्नाने च दाने द्विजभोजने च
सुरार्चने चाक्षयपुण्यदा स्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

अथ अशोकाष्टमीव्रतम् —

चैत्रे या धवलाष्टमी परयुता तस्यां सुदेव्योत्सवं
सौख्यानन्दसमृद्धयेऽपि च पुनर्वस्वर्क्षजाढ्या यदा ।
आशोकीं कलिकां पिबेत्तु मनुजो शोकादिनाशार्थये
तस्यां स्नानविधानतो हि लभते श्रीवाजिमेधोद्भवम् ॥ १३ ॥

अथ रामजन्मनवमी —

[3][अथ प्रस्तावाद्दशावतारजयन्त्युत्सवानाह ।
द्वादश्यैकादशी या बटुझषकमठो बुद्धकल्याख्यदेवौ
भाद्रे मार्गे च पौषे [4]*[शु]चि नभसि सिते माधवे रामसिंहौ ।

3 [.....] in marg. 4 Damaged

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

वह्नौ भूते वराहः सितदिन[5]**[हुत]मुक् फाल्गुने श्रावणे च
कृष्णाष्टम्यां च कृष्णो रघुपतिरभवच्चैत्रशुक्ले नवम्याम् ॥ १४ ॥]

चैत्रे वै नवमी सिता भवति या सूर्योदयव्यापिनी
तस्यां विष्णुपरायणैस्तु विबुधैः कुर्याद्व्रतं वैष्णवम् ।

मध्याह्नेऽपि तथा पुनर्वसुयुता चेद्वै महापुण्यदा
ज्ञेया जागरणे व्रते च विधि [6]*****[वह्नानार्पणे] मुक्तिदा ॥१४॥

अथ व्रतविधिः —

रामाख्या नवमी तिथि(थिर्) हि वृणुयाद्विप्रान् चतुःसंमिता—
न्गेहं मं[7]********* प्राग्द्वारसंसेविते ।

मध्ये चाष्टदलाब्जके ससुहृदं रामं सुहेमोद्भवं
संपूज्यादपरेऽह्नि पायसघृतैर्होमं च पीठार्पणम् ॥ १५ ॥

अथैकादशीव्रतविधिनिर्णयस्तु षड्भिर्वृत्तैः —

विद्धैकादशि या चतुर्विधमता संकीर्तिता पण्डितैः
स्पर्शः पञ्चयुगाधिका कृतयुगे त्याज्या तु सा वैष्णवैः ।

पञ्चाशद्घटिकाधिका भवति या साज्ञेति त्रेतायुगे
शल्याख्या शरबाणतोऽप्यधिकगा सा वर्जयेद्द्वापरे ॥ १६ ॥

विद्धा षट्शरतोऽधिका कलियुगे सा वै चतुर्धा त्यजे—
द्व्याकुल्या त्रिजटा च भासुरतिका ज्ञेया क्रमान्मोहिनी ।

लक्ष्मीपुत्रकलत्रधर्मनिचयान्निघ्नन्ति तासां व्रता—
त्तस्मात्तां(ताः) परिवर्जयन्ति विबुधाः सर्वेषु मासेष्वपि ॥ १७ ॥

शुद्धा मिश्रा दशम्या क्वचिदपि च ततो द्वैधमेकादशीयं
प्रत्येकं च त्रिधासौ पुनरपि समतान्यूनताधिक्ययोगात् ।

पक्षाः प्रत्येकमिन्नाः पुनरपि षडमी द्वादशीन्यूनताद्यैः
संबन्धादेवमष्टादश खलु मिलिताः कल्पनाः संभवन्ति ॥ १८ ॥

संपूर्णैकादशी या न भवति परतः सा समा वासमा वा
न्यूना वा नास्ति वाच्यं व्रजति हरिदिनं द्वादशी सापि चोर्ध्वम् ।

---

5 Damaged 6 Lacuna 7 Lacuna.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

सर्वे कुर्युः परस्तादुपवसनमथ द्वादशी नोर्ध्वमेति
प्राग्विद्धत्वद्वितीयामुपवसतु जनः पूर्वमन्ये च सर्वे ॥ १९ ॥

यद्येषा पूर्वविद्धा भवति परतः सा समा वासमा वा
सर्वे कुर्युर्द्वितीयामथ हरिदिवसः पूर्वविद्धोऽपि यायात् ।

द्वादश्यां रात्रिसंस्पृग्यदि भवति परं मोक्षिणः पूर्वमन्ये
यद्वा विद्धा न चोर्ध्वं परमुपरि भवेत्तत्र सर्वे पुरस्तात् । २० ॥

पूर्वं विद्धा[8] असौ चेन्न भवति परतो द्वादशी नापि चोर्ध्वं
कुर्यात्तत्रोपविष्टान्मुनिजननिकरः पूर्वमन्ये च सर्वे ।

विद्धं प्रातर्दशम्या हरिदिनमथ चेद्वादशी रात्रिदोषे
सर्वैः पूर्वे तदानीमुपवसतु जनः प्रीतये केशवस्य ॥ २१ ॥

एकादशीनिर्णयस्तम्भः ।

१	२	३	४	५	६
१० र. ५८	१० र. ५८	१० र. ५८	१० र ५८	१० र. ५९	१० र. ५८
११ चं. ५७	११ चं. ५७	११ चं. ५७	११ चं. ६०	११ चं. ६०	११ चं. ६०
१२ मं. ५६	१२ मं. ६०	१२ मं. ६०	१२ मं. ५९	१२ मं. ६१	१२ मं. ६१
७	८	९	१०	११	१२
१० र. ६१	१० र. ५९	१० मं. १	१० र. १	१० र. १	१० र. १
११ चं. ६०	११ चं. ६०	११ बु. ३	११ चं. ५८	११ चं. ५८	११ चं. ६०
१२ मं. ६१	१२ मं. ५९	१२ गु. ०	१२ मं. ५७	१२ मं. ६०	१२ मं. ५८
१३	१४	१५	१६	१७	१८
१० र. १	१० र. १	१० र. १	१० र. १	१० र. १	१० र. १
११ चं. ६०	११ चं. ६०	११ चं. ६०	११ चं. २	११ चं. १॥	११ चं. २
१२ मं. ६०	१२ मं. ६१	१२ मं. ६१	१२ चं. ६०	१२ चं. ५७	१२ चं. ६१

अथ स्थूलतया सुगमप्रकारेणैकादशी—

या स्याद्विष्णुतिथी रवेरुदयगा मुहूर्तमात्रापि सा
ग्राह्या युग्मदिनोदये यदि तदा स्याद्वादशीसंयुता ।

लुप्तैकादशिवित्तदा व्रतपरैर्ग्राह्या व्रते द्वादशी
कुर्यात्कामतिथौ हि पारणविधिं सत्कर्मधर्माय वै ॥ २२ ॥

8 Note hiatus

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

स्यादेकादशिसुव्रते यदि तदा तत्पारणं भोजनं
द्वादश्यां हरिवासरादिरहितां कुर्यात्सदा वैष्णवैः ।
योऽन्नं वै हरिवासरेऽथ सुव्रते भुक्त्वा तमिस्रं व्रजे-
च्छुक्ला वा परपक्षगा हरितिथिर्न्यूनाधिका सा न हि ॥ २३ ॥

अथ पद्मललितैकादशी—

चैत्रे वै धवले च पद्मललिता संज्ञेति विष्णोस्तिथि-
स्तस्यां वै नियमेन संयुतव्रती विष्णुं घृतेनैव तु ।
संसिच्यान्निशि जागरादिविधिना नीत्वा च सूर्योदये
होमः क्षौद्रतिलैश्च वेदविदुषे शाल्यर्पणं स्वर्गदम् ॥ २४ ॥

अथ विष्णोर्दोलोत्सवम् (वः)—

मधौ शुक्लपक्षे च वैकुण्ठतिथ्यां
हरिं पूजयेद्दोलकारोहणस्थम् ।
ततः सार्धमासं सुपुष्पोत्कहर्म्ये
हरिं स्थापयेद्वैष्णवैर्मुक्तिहेतोः ॥ २५ ॥

इति पुष्पमण्डल्युत्सवम् (वः)

अथ दमनारोपणोत्सवः—

चैत्रे द्वादशिका तिथिर्धवलगा [9]चेन्दूदयव्यापिनी
तस्यां यन्त्रघटस्थितं दमनकं संपूजयेद्वैष्णवैः ।
नाम्ना कामवसन्तयोः सुविधिना संप्रार्थ्यते नैव तु
विष्णोः संपरिपूजनाच्च सफला पूजा भवेद्वार्षिकी ॥ २६ ॥

अथ अनङ्गत्रयोदशीव्रतम्—

चैत्रे सिता स्मरतिथिः सवितोदयाद्या
तस्यां व्रतं वितनुयान्नरनारिभिश्च ।
कामं वसन्तसहितं विधिनार्चयन्ति
ते वै सदा सुरसुरूपसमन्विताः स्युः ॥ २७ ॥

---

9 before corr. मि for चे

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथ चैत्रीपौर्णिमा—

चैत्रे पूर्णा पराद्या भवति च सदा मन्दसूर्येज्यवारै—
र्युक्ता चित्रान्विता साप्यतिसुकृतकरा स्नानदानादिकृत्ये ।
ग्राह्या सा देवकृत्ये दमनविधिवशात्पूजयेत्सर्वदेवा—
न्सा वै मन्वादिसंज्ञा विहितविधिकरा पितृणां तृप्तिदात्री ॥ २८ ॥

अथ वैशाखस्नानम्—

चैत्र्यां मेषगते रवौ वितनुयात्स्नानं सदा माधवे
तीर्थे वा सुजलेऽरुणोदयगते सद्ब्रह्मचर्यान्वितः ।
कुर्याद्वै मधुसूदनस्य यजनं यावत्सिता पौर्णिमा
भूशय्या च हविष्यभोजनपरो नक्तैकभक्तोऽथवा ॥ २९ ॥

अथ वैशाखस्नानानन्तरकर्माह—

स्नाने माधवसंज्ञके मधुरिपुं लक्षैकवृन्दादलै—
र्यो वै [10]अर्चयते स मुक्तिफलभाक् सौख्यान्वितो मानवः ।
योऽश्वत्थः परिसिञ्चयेज्जलघटैः कुर्यात्परिक्रामणं
सोऽपि मोक्षफलं लभेच्च सततं सौख्यं सुरेन्द्रोपमम् ॥ ३० ॥

अथ वैशाखस्नानोद्यापनविधिः —

वैशाख्यां च शुभेऽह्नि मासव्रतवान्सन्मण्डपे मण्डले
कुम्भस्थं मधुसूदनं सह रमां संपूजयेज्जागरम् ।
कृत्वा सद्घृतपायसेन हवनं त्रिंशद्द्विजान्भोजये—
च्छय्याछत्रमुपानहौ सुकलशान्दद्यात्स सायुज्यभाक् ॥ ३१ ॥

अथ कल्पादितिथिः —

चैत्रे कृष्णे पञ्चमी या तिथिस्तु
कल्पाद्या वै सा पराह्णान्वितायाम् ।
यद्यद्दानं पूजनं वा जपं वा
तत्तत्सर्वं चाक्षयं स्यान्नराणाम ॥ ३२ ॥

---

10 'note hiatus

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथ चण्डीव्रतम्—

कृष्णाष्टम्यां चैत्रमासे विदध्या—
न्नारीभिस्तु चण्डिकाख्यं व्रतं च ।

तीर्थस्नानाच्चण्डिपूजोपवासा—
त्सौभाग्यं स्यात्पुत्रपौत्रादियुक्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥

अथ वैरूथिन्येकादशीव्रतम्—

चैत्रे कृष्णविभागके हरितिथिर्वैरूथिनीसंज्ञिता
तस्यां वै सुघृताभिषेकविधिना विष्णुं समभ्यर्चयेत् ।

द्वादश्यां हवनं मधुघृततिलैर्दत्त्वाढकस्तन्दुला—
नग्निष्टोमफलं लभेद्बहुगुणं यो भुञ्जते सुव्रती ॥ ३४ ॥

अथ श्रीमद्वल्लभोत्सवः —

चैत्रे चापरपक्षगा हरितिथौ शुद्धाधिकायां तु वै
श्रीमद्वल्लभदेवमार्गगजनैर्जन्मोत्सवं कारयेत ।

विद्धायां च तिथिक्षयेऽथ दिवसस्यार्धे हरिं पूजये—
च्छ्रीमद्वै गुरुपादुकां स्वविभवैः पूजोपहारादिभिः ॥ ३५ ॥

अथ वरुणपर्वमा(र्व आ)ह—

चैत्रस्यापरपक्षगा स्मरतिथिः पाश्यर्क्षपंगुशुभै—
र्युक्ता कोटिरविग्रहोपमफला पर्व भवेद्वारुणम् ।

स्नात्वा सत्सरितेऽर्चयेच्च वरुणं गोहेमभूम्यर्पणं
कुर्यात्सौख्यसमृद्धयेऽतिसुकृताँल्लभ्येत गाङ्गं नरः ॥ ३६ ॥

अथ प्रेतत्वमोचनपर्वः (र्व)—

कृष्णा चतुर्दशिमधौ मनुजां हिताय
संनिर्मिता च विधिना सुकृतप्रदात्री ।

स्नात्वा सुतीर्थसलिले शिवसन्निधौ यः
प्रेतत्वदोषमपहाय सुरोत्तमः स्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथ स्वर्गप्रदपर्वः (र्व)—

चैत्रेऽमा पूर्वविद्धा पितृतिथिरमा स्यात्सदा दर्शकृत्ये
सा चेच्चन्द्रार्कवारे क्रियमगतरवौ रेवतीवैधृताख्या ।
योगः स्वर्गप्रदोऽसौ दशरविग्रहणैस्तुल्यता स्यान्नराणां
तीर्थस्नाने च दानेऽप्यथ पितृयजने भोजने वै द्विजानाम् ॥ ३८ ॥

अथ संक्रान्तिपर्वः (र्व)—

संक्रान्तिकालः समयो हि सूक्ष्मः
पुण्यप्रदः पापहरो नराणाम् ।
धर्मार्थकामामृतसाधनानां
सिद्धिप्रदो मुक्तिफलस्य हेतुः ॥ ३९ ॥
संक्रान्तिकालात्परपूर्वभागे
पुण्या घटी षोडश षोडशैव ।
सदौषधिस्नानमथार्कपूजा
श्राद्धं विपिण्डं विहितं च दानम् ॥ ४० ॥
या पूर्वभागा[11]द्विचरेत्प्रभाते
चेत्पुण्यदा स्यात्परनाडिकासु ।
परार्धया स्याद्यदि भास्करास्ते
पूर्वासु पुण्येति च गौणकालः ॥ ४१ ॥
यदा निशीथे रविसंक्रमः स्या—
द्दिनद्वयं पुण्यफलप्रदं च ।
स्नानं च दानं सुरार्चनाद्यं
रात्रौ निषेधात्परिचिन्तनीयम् ॥ ४२ ॥

संक्रान्तौ वर्ज्यकर्माणि
सूर्यस्य संक्रान्तिदिनं विवर्ज्य
विवाहमौञ्ज्यादिकमङ्गलेषु ।
दोलायने चाथ दिनार्धमात्रं
कृत्वान्तरेऽन्यासु परा परा च ॥ ४३ ॥

---

11 गा in marg.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथोत्तरगोलपर्वः(र्व)—

स्यात्सोम्यगोलरजभे रविसंक्रमाच्च
पूर्वा परा दश दशेति घटीस्तु पुण्या ।
स्नानं सुतीर्थसरितादिषु सूर्यपूजां
श्राद्धं सुखाय क्रियदानविधिर्नराणाम् ॥ ४४ ॥

इति निर्णयमञ्जर्यामुत्सवव्रतादिकथनं नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥

॥ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ वैशाखमासस्येश्वरादीनाह—

राधे वै मधुसूदनस्य वचनात्तेजोनिधिस्त्वर्यमा
पुलहेनैव सहायतो विचरति पद्माह्वनागेण तु ।
तुर्यं वाद्यति नारदोऽत्र समये नृत्यन्ति पुञ्जस्थला
मासं माधवसंज्ञकं नयति वै सत्कर्मपुण्यप्रदम् ॥ १ ॥[12]

अथाक्षय्यतृतीयानिर्णयः —

राधे या तृतीयाक्षयेति धवला रव्यूदयव्यापिनी
ग्राह्या वै परमा तु सा कभयुता ज्ञेन्दुद्वयुक्तापि चेत् ।
तस्यां चन्दनसौरभादिव्यजनैः संपूजयेन्माधवं
सा वै सा तु युगादिका बहुगुणा कल्पादिकृत्येऽपि सा ॥ २ ॥[13]

अथाक्षय्यतृतीयायां कृत्यमाह—

सा वै चाक्षयसंज्ञिकेति तृतीया तस्यां सुतीर्थोदके
स्नात्वा यः सुयवान्नतो हि विधिना संपूजयेन्माधवम् ।
होमं प्राशनमर्पणं शुचिकरं कुर्यात्तु कुम्भोदकं
शक्तुग्रीष्मजसस्यपुष्पसफलान्दद्यात्सुखार्थी नरः ॥ ३ ॥

---

12 Scribe notes runuing no. 45 here. 13 Scribe records running no. 46 and also 2 here.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

तस्यां परशुरामजयन्तीव्रतम्—

वैशाखे तृतिया सिता निशिमुखे तस्यां सुजन्मोत्सवं
कुर्याद्युग्मदिनोपगाः परयुताश्चान्यत्र पूर्वास्तथा ।
स्नात्वा तद्व्रतवान् यजेत्सुविधिना रामं तथा रेणुकां
जमदग्निं स तु पुण्यभाग्भवति वै कोट्यश्वमेधाधिकः ॥ ४ ॥

अथ गाङ्गासप्तम्युत्सवः —

या सप्तमी माधवशुक्लपक्षे
दिनार्धजायां मनुजो जितात्मा ।
स्नात्वा सुतीर्थे यजतीह गङ्गां
मुक्तिं लभेत्किल्बिषसंयुतोऽपि ॥ ५ ॥

मोहिन्येकादशी—

शुक्लैकादशि माधवे भवति या सा मोहिनीसंज्ञिता
तस्यां वै मधुसूदनं च विधिना क्षीराभिषेकेण तु ।
वह्नौ चैव घृताहुतिं वितनुयात्कुम्भं घृताढ्यं ददे–
द्दुग्धे यः स व्रती फलं च लभते यद्वाजिमेधोद्भवम ॥ ६ ॥

अथ पुण्यप्रदपर्वम्(र्व)—

सिंहस्थौ गुरुभूमिजौ क्रियगते सूर्ये सिता द्वादशी
वैशाखे व्यतिपातहस्तभयुते तस्यां सुपुण्याभिधम् ।
पर्वेऽस्मिन्सलिलं च गौतमिसमं विप्रस्तु ब्रह्मोपमः
स्याद्गोभूकनकार्पणैस्तु पुरुषो मुच्येन्महापातकात् ॥ ७ ॥

अथ नृसिंहचतुर्दशीव्रतम्—

वैशाखस्य चतुर्दशी धवलगा मित्रोदयव्यापिनी
ग्राह्या स्वातिशशान्विता च परमा काभान्विता सा त्यजेत् ।
तस्यां वै सुव्रती दिनान्तसमये हैमं नृसिंहं यजे–
त्पूर्णायां द्विजभोजनं च गुरवे पीठार्पणं मुक्तिदम् ॥ ८ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथ वैशाखीपौर्णिमाकृत्यम्—

वैशाखी पौर्णिमा या शिवतिथिसहिता वाथ सार्धत्रियामा
तस्यां स्नात्वा सुतान्नं[14] जलयुतकलशान्दापयेत्सौख्यहेतोः ।
हेमं वस्त्रं सिताज्यं गुडमधुसतिलान्वाथ कृष्णाजिनं च
गोदानं वा स्वशक्त्याखिलदुरितविनाशाय दद्याद्विज्येभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥

अथापरैकादशीव्रतम्—

कृष्णैकादशि या परेति कथिता मासे सुवैशाखके
तस्याराधनतत्प[15]रो मधुरिपुं क्षीराभिषेकेण तु ।
होम(मं) साज्यतिलैर्विधाय सघृतं कोशोद्भवं दापये–
द्भूमेर्यस्तु(तु) परिक्रमोद्भवफलं संप्राप्यते मानवः ॥ १० ॥

अथ वैशाखी अमा—

या माधवे दर्शतिथिः सुपुण्या
सार्धत्रियामान्वितपूर्वविद्धा ।
स्नाने च दाने च सुरार्चने च
पित्र्यर्चनेऽनन्तफलप्रदात्री ॥ ११ ॥

अथ वृषसंक्रान्तिः—

ग्रीष्मर्तुः संनिवेशो भवति हरिपदी संज्ञिता वै वृषार्के
तत्संचाराच्च पूर्वा नृपमितघटिका(:) पुण्यदा(:) पुण्यकाले ।
तस्यां स्नानं सुतीर्थे श्रुतिहितविधिना पूजनं भास्करस्य
श्राद्धं विप्रादिभोज्यं शतदशगुणितं स्यात्तथा धेनुदानम् ॥ १२ ॥

इत्युत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जर्यां वैशाखमासव्रतनिर्णयः ॥ २ ॥

---

14 before corr. न्नं 15 before corr. प्त

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

॥ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ ज्येष्ठमासेश्वरादीनाह—

ज्येष्ठे त्रिविक्रमनिदेशवशाच्च पित्रोः
संगच्छते गुरुबलेन सतक्षकेन ।
हाहेति वाद्यविधुरोऽध्वनि मेनकाख्या
नृत्यन्नयन्ति भृगुमासदिवानिशं च ॥ १ ॥[16]

अथ रम्भाव्रतम्—

ज्येष्ठे वै तृतिया सिताथ नभसि शुक्ला च भूताभिधा
राका माधवमासकार्तिकगता स्यात्पूर्वविद्धा तु सा ।
स्वाचारात्कदलीव्रतेषु विबुधैर्ग्राह्याप्यनस्तं गते
शुक्रे वा सुरपूजिते च विबले चन्द्रे कुयोगोक्तिगे ॥ २ ॥

अथ रम्भाव्रतविधिः—

या रम्भाव्रतकारिणी च युवती स्नाता विभूषान्विता
प्रेमानन्दभरेण शास्त्रविधिना रम्भाद्रुमं रो[17]पयेत् ।
गेहे पूजनमम्बुसिञ्चनविधिं कुर्यात्फलाढ्या यदा
हेमोत्थां कदलीं सुपीठसहितां दद्यात्सुपुत्रा भवेत् ॥ ३ ॥
[18]******** वृषगते सूर्ये गिरानन्दके
पाते हस्त[19]बुधान्विते दशहरा पर्व सुपुण्यप्रदम् ।
या काचित्सरितोदके सुविधिना स्नात्वा च गङ्गां यजे—
द्भोभूहेमतिलार्पणैस्तु मनुजो मुच्येन्महापातकात् ॥ ४ ॥

अथ दशहरापर्वे(र्वणि) तीर्थविशेषात्फलविशेषः —

योगेऽस्मिन्दशके च सेतुपुलिने रामेश्वरस्यार्चना—
न्मुच्येत्पातकराशितो हि मनुजः स स्वर्गसौख्यं लभेत् ।

---

16 Scribe notes no. 57 also. 17 before corr. पू (for रो). 18 Lacuna
19 स्त in marg.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

गङ्गां यां(यो) मनुजस्तु पुण्यनिचयाल्लभ्येत चेद्वै तदा
मुच्येद्वै दशजन्मपापनिचयाद्वाङ्गव्रतान्मुक्तिभाक् ॥ ५ ॥

अथ निर्जलैकादशी—

ज्येष्ठे शुक्लविभागके हरितिथिः सा निर्जला संज्ञिता
तस्यां शर्करया सुधेनुपयसा संस्नापयेद्विक्र[20]मम् ।
द्वादश्यां घृतपायसैस्तु हवनं हेमान्नकुम्भोदकं
दद्याद्वै नरमेधजं स लभते पुण्यं व्रतेनैव तु ॥ ६ ॥

अथ ज्येष्ठपूर्णिमापर्वम्(र्व)—

ज्येष्ठे वै खलु पूर्णिमा शिवतिथि वि(र्वि)द्धा च दानार्पणे
सा सूर्योदयगामिनी च विबुधैर्ग्राह्या च मन्वादिके ।
ऐन्द्रर्क्षेन्दुगुरूकभे च सविता ज्येष्ठान्विता पौर्णिमा
योगेऽस्मिन्महती सुदानविषये स्नानेऽर्चने दुर्लभा ॥ ७ ॥

वटसावित्रीव्रतम्—

ज्येष्ठे पूर्णतिथिर्गजेन्दुघटिका भूतान्विता सा त्यजे-
त्पूर्वा वाथ परान्विता व्रतविधौ सावित्रिके स्यात्सदा ।
तस्यां वै त्रिदिनव्रताद्युवतिभिर्न्यग्रोधमूलेऽर्चये-
त्सावित्रीं त्रिसमान्तके च प्रतिमादानात्सुसौभाग्यभाक् ॥ ८ ॥

अथ स्नानयात्रोत्सवम् (वः)—

ज्येष्ठे ज्येष्ठासंयुता पूर्णिमायां
शुद्धायां वा पञ्च पीयूषभिर्यः ।
सूक्तैर्विष्णोः शीतनीराभिषेकं
कुर्याद्भक्त्या भुक्तिमुक्तिं लभेत ॥ ९ ॥

अथ योगिन्येकादशीव्रतम्—

ज्येष्ठे कृष्णैकादशी योगिनी स्या-
त्तस्यां क्षीरासेचनं विक्रमस्य ।

---

20 before corr. त्रि

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

प्रातर्होमं पायसेनैव कुर्या–
त्पक्वान्नं वै दापयेन्मुक्तिहेतुः ॥ १० ॥

ज्येष्ठी अमावास्यापर्वणी—

ज्येष्ठे कुह्वां कर्मनिष्ठैर्मनुष्ये(ष्यैस्)
तीर्थस्नानं देवपित्र्यर्चनं च ।
कुर्याद्भक्त्या नीरकुम्भं सधान्यं
दत्त्वा भुङ्क्ते स्वर्गसौख्यं सभोगः ॥ ११ ॥

अथ मिथुनसंक्रान्तिः—

षडशीतिमुखसंज्ञिता मिथुनभे[21] आदित्यसंचारतो
नाड्यस्तु परभागिका नृपमिता(:) पुण्या(:) सुपुण्यक्रतौ ।
स्नानं सत्सरितादिपुण्यसरसि भक्त्या च सूर्यं यजे–
त्सद्वस्त्राभरणानि वेदविदुषे दद्यात्सुसौख्यार्थये ॥ १२ ॥

इति निर्णयोत्सवमञ्जर्यां ज्येष्ठकृत्यम् । तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ आषाढमासेश्वरादीनाह—

आषाढेश्वरवामनस्य वचनाद्वृच्छेद्वियन्मण्डलं
तिग्मांशुर्वरुणो वसिष्ठविभवात्सुश्रावणागेन तु ।
हूहूर्वाद्यसुघोषवादनपरो नृत्यन्ति रम्भाशरा
मासं वै शुचिसंज्ञकं विनयति रात्रिंदिवाभागतः ॥ १ ॥

अथ रथयात्रोत्सवम् (वः)—

शुचौ सिते पुण्ययुता द्वितीया
शुद्धा तिथिर्ऋक्षविभागके च ।
तस्यां रथस्थं च हरिं समर्च्य
यात्रोत्सवान्मुक्तिवतो मनुष्यः ॥ २ ॥

---

21 note hiatus.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

मन्वादिराह—

आषाढमासे धवले च पक्षे
सूर्योदयव्यापिनिका दशम्याम् ।
सनीरकुम्भं सुफलान्नदानं
सुखार्थदं सापि मनोस्तिथिस्तु ॥ ३ ॥

अथ देवशयन्येकादशी—

आषाढे धवले च देवशयनी विष्णोस्तिथिः कीर्तिता
तस्यां वै पयसाभिषेकविधिना संपूजयेद्वामनम् ।
होमं सघृतदुर्वया वितनुयाच्छ्रीनालिकेरार्पणं
कृत्वा विप्रवराय सस्तु लभते श्रीवाजिपेयोद्भवम् ॥ ४ ॥

देवशयनोत्सवमाह—

शयन्येकादश्यां भुजगशयनीं हेमप्रतिमां
हरेस्तां संपूज्य पयदधिसितासर्पिमधुभिः ।
सुपर्यङ्के स्थाप्या शयनविधिना सुव्रतधरो
नरो वा नारी वा लभति सुमहामुक्तिपदवीम् ॥ ५ ॥

चातुर्मास्यव्रतारम्भः—

कर्केऽकेंऽप्यथवा सुषुप्तिसमये वा पौर्णमास्यां बुधै-
श्चातुर्मास्यव्रतं तथैव नियमान्प्रारम्भयेद्भक्तितः ।
अस्ते वा गुरुशुक्रयोस्तु मकरे सिंहस्थितेज्ये तथा
वक्रे वाप्यतिवारकेऽरिभगते मासाधिकेऽपि तथा ॥ ६ ॥

चातुर्मास्ये नियमानि(माः)—

शाकं वै नभसंज्ञिके दधि तथा भाद्रेऽश्विने वै पयः
ऊर्जेऽन्नं द्विदलं त्यजेत्तु बदरं [22]वार्ताककूष्माण्डके ।
धात्रीमूलकबीजपूरकपटोलंबीरकौलत्थका-
न्खट्वारोहणमद्यमांसविषयाँस्तुर्येषु मासेष्वपि ॥ ७ ॥

---

22 वृन्ताक in marg.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

चातुर्मास्यव्रते फलोदयम् (यः)—

स्याद्वै सुस्वरवान्गुडव्रतधरो(रस्) तैली सुरूपाकृति-
योगाभ्यासरतो हि ब्रह्मपदवीं ताम्बूलिको भोगवान् ।
लावण्यं च घृतवती कुशनिरात्पुत्रान्नयाची सुखं
नक्तैकान्तरमौनपत्रमशनैर्मुक्तिं हविष्याद्धृतम् ॥ ८ ॥

व्रतपारणानिर्णयः—

शयन्येकादश्यां व्रतयुतनरैः पारणविधिं
विदध्याद्वादश्यां सुकृतहरमित्रर्क्षवियुता ।
वियुक्तालाभे वै प्रथमपदमित्रर्क्षघटिका-
वियोगान्ते कुर्याद्व्रतफलसमृद्ध्यर्थविबुधैः ॥ ९ ॥

अथ[23] गोपद्मव्रतम्—

कार्यं वै शयनीदिनात्प्रतिदिनं यावत्प्रबोधो हरे-
र्गोपद्माख्यव्रतं सतीयुवतिभिर्गोष्ठे शुभे मण्डले ।
पद्मानि सुरसंमितानि रचयन्संपूजयेत्केशवं
तत्संख्याक्षयनार्पणैश्च नतिभिः पञ्चाब्दिकं मुक्तिदम् ॥ १० ॥

अथ पार्वतीव्रतम्—

आषाढे धवले त्रयोदशितिथिमारभ्य पञ्चाह्निकं
नारीभिर्विविधं सुपार्वतिव्रतं वैधव्यविध्वंसनम् ।
कुर्यात्पार्वतिपूजनं सहहरं यं(यत)पञ्च पञ्चाब्दिकं
षष्ठेऽह्नि सकलत्रकान्द्विजवरान्संपूज्य संतोषयेत् ॥ ११ ॥

अथ विष्णोरान्दोलोत्सवम्(वः)—

शुचौ शुक्लविश्वाह्नि[24] गोविन्दधिष्ण्ये
सुलग्ने हरेर्दोलकारोहणं वा ।
पराह्णे सदा गीतवादित्रघोषै-
र्विधेयोत्सवः श्रावणीपौर्णिमान्तम् ॥ १२ ॥

---

23 अथ in marg. 24 before corr. त्रि.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथ कोकिलाव्रतम्

भूताद्यापाढिकायां सुमतियुवतिभिः कोकिलाख्यं व्रतं य-
न्मासस्नानोपवासात्कलिकलुषहरं कोकिलापूजनेन ।
तस्यां वै पार्वतीशं शयनविधिवशात्पूजयेत्स्वार्थकामा-
न्कार्यं वा व्यासपूजाश्रुतिमुखविदुषैः पूर्वविद्धां विहाय ॥ १३ ॥

अथ स्वस्तिकव्रतम्—

आषाढाद्या देवसुप्तिव्रताद्या
कुर्यान्नारी तुर्यमासैर्व्रताद्या ।
देवागारे स्वस्तिकान्पञ्चवर्णा-
न्सकृल्लक्षान्भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदाँश्च ॥ १४ ॥

[25]**अथ परमाषाढीयोगः—**

पूर्वाषाढासंयुता शुक्लयोगे
सोमे पूर्णा दुर्लभा पुण्यकृत्ये ।
या पूर्वाह्णव्यापिनी पूर्णिमा च
तस्यां स्नानं दानमन्वादिकृत्यम् ॥ १५ ॥

[26]**इति मन्वादिः तिथिः ।**

प्रसङ्गाद्वायूनाह—

आषाढ्यां भास्करास्ते सुरपतिककुभं वायुवाते सुवृष्टिः
सस्यार्धं संप्रकुर्याद्यदि दहनदिशा मन्ददृष्टिर्यमेन ।
नैर्ऋत्यां मध्यमा स्याद्वरुणबहुजला वायुना वायुकोपैः
कौबेर्यां सस्यपूर्णा भवति वसुमती तद्वदीशानवाते ॥ १६ ॥

इति तिथिप्रसङ्गाद्वायुपरीक्षा ।

अथ कामिकैकादशी—

कृष्णा विष्णुतिथिः शुचौ भवति या सा कीर्तिता कामिका
तस्यां यः पयसा घृतेन व्रतवाञ्छ्रीवामनं सिञ्चयेत् ।

---

25 अथ in marg. 26 इति...तिथिः in marg.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

वह्नौ धान्यघृताहुतिं वितनुयाद्ध्यन्नदानं तथा
पक्वान्नैर्द्विजभोजनं च स लभेद्यत्कोटिभोज्योद्भवम् ॥ १७ ॥

[27]अथ आषाढी अमा—

[28]आषाढे चेद्विहियुक्ता कुहुश्च
ग्राह्या दैवे पैतृके चैव दाने ।
सार्पर्क्षे सा भौमचन्द्रार्कवारे
पाताढ्या चेद्दुर्लभा पुण्यकृत्ये ॥ १८ ॥
आषाढे वै प्रतिपद्विहियुक्ता
कुहुश्च ग्राह्या देवकर्मे च दाने ।
सा पाताढ्या मन्दचन्द्रार्कवारे
स्नाने दाने दुर्लभा विप्रभोज्ये ॥ १८ ॥

कर्कसंक्रान्तिः —

स्याद्याम्यायनसंज्ञिका भवति वै वर्षर्तुसंवेशके
कर्कसंक्रमणाद्वयेस्तु घटिकाः पूर्वाश्च त्रिंशन्मिताः ।
पुण्या कोटिप्रदेति कथिता तस्यां नरो भक्तिमा—
न्स्नात्वा पुण्यजलेऽर्कपूजनपरो दद्याद्घृतं सौरभीम ॥ १९ ॥

इत्युत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जर्यामाषाढमासकथनं नाम चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥ ४ ॥

॥ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ श्रावणमासस्येश्वरादीनाह—

मनोधीश्वरः[29] श्रीधरस्यानुदेशा—
च्चरेदिन्द्रनामाङ्गिरा वीर्यतश्च ।
सह स्रोतसा नृत्यकृत्प्रम्लुचाख्या
सुवाजि(दि)त्रकर्ता हि विश्वावसुश्च ॥ १ ॥

---

27 अथ in marg. 28 आषाढे.....भोज्ये ॥ १८ ॥ in marg. 29 marg. gloss कामः.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अथ बिल्वरोटकव्रतम्—

मासे वै नभसाद्वये च धवले पूर्वेन्दुवारे व्रतं
कुर्याद्रोटकसंज्ञकं सुधनदं स्नात्वा हरस्यार्चनम् ।
माहात्म्यश्रवणं च कार्तिकसिते भूतासु संपूजनं
कृत्वा रोटकपञ्चकैः सुविधिना दानार्पणं भोजनम् ॥ २ ॥

अथ[30] मङ्गलागौरीव्रतम्—

गौरीमङ्गलिकाव्रतं नभसिगे स्त्रीभिः कुजेऽह्नि सिते
स्नात्वा गौरिहरार्चनं च गुडयुग्गोधूमसंसेवनात् ।
अन्येऽह्नि निशि जागरं युवतिनां संपूजनं तोषये—
त्सौभाग्यादिसमृद्धये च प्रतिमादानं च पञ्चाब्दिके ॥ ३ ॥

मधुसुश्रवा तृतीयोत्सवः —

[31]या वै तृतीया श्रावणशुक्लपक्षे
मधुश्रवाख्या च सदा परैव ।
ग्राह्या च तस्यां मनुजैः प्रहृष्टै—
र्महोत्सवं मङ्गलगीतघोषैः ॥ ४ ॥
शुक्ला या तृतिया नभस्युदयगा सत्स्वर्णगौरीव्रतं
तस्यां वै मनुजैर्विधानचतुरैर्भक्त्या च गौरीं यजेत् ।
स्तुत्या दोरकबन्धनं नृपमिते वर्षे तमुद्यापये—
द्दानाल्लक्ष्मिकलत्रपुत्रसहितं सौख्यं लभेच्चाक्षयम् ॥ ५ ॥

इति स्वर्णगौरीव्रतम् ।

अथ[32] गणपतिव्रते तिथिनिर्णयः—

शुक्ले या सुचतुर्थिका परयुता मध्याह्निकव्यापिनी
ग्राह्या चापरपक्षगा च विबुधैश्चन्द्रोदयव्यापिनी ।
व्याप्त्यव्याप्तिगतावुभावपि दिनौ पूर्वान्विता सर्वदा
तस्यां स्वेष्टकरं गजाननव्रतं कुर्यात्सुपूजादिभिः ॥ ६ ॥

---

30 अथ in marg. 31 before corr-reads या सा दिवै तृतीया श्रावणे. 32 अथ in marg

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

दूर्वागणपतिव्रतम्—

दूर्वाविघ्नपसंज्ञकं नभसि या शुक्ला चतुर्थीतिथौ
कार्तिक्यामथवार्कवासरयुतां प्रारम्भयेत्सद्व्रतम् ।
हैमीं सत्प्रतिमां तथा कनकजैर्दूर्वाङ्कुरैरासनं
कृत्वा मण्डलकुम्भगेऽर्चनविधिं पञ्चाब्दिकं सिद्धिदम् ॥ ७ ॥

नागपञ्चमीव्रतम्—

शुक्ले पञ्चमिका तिथिः परयुता भाद्रेऽथवा श्रावणे
तस्यां वै विधिना व्रती स्वविभवैर्नागं च संपूजयेत् ।
नैवेद्यं घृतमोदकैः सुपयसा मासे च मासे पुनः
कुर्याद्वादशवार्षिकं च प्रतिमादानार्पणाद्भोगदम् ॥ ८ ॥

पुत्रदा नामैकादशी—

सितैकादशी पुत्रदा श्रावणे च
व्रती श्रीधरं पूजयेत्क्षौद्रदुग्धैः ।
तिलाज्यैस्तु होमं सुवर्णस्य दानं
मनुष्यो लभेद्राजिमेधोत्थपुण्यम् ॥ ९ ॥

विष्णोः पवित्रारोपणोत्सवमाह—

या श्रावणैकादशी शुक्लपक्षे
विहाय विष्टिं व्रतिभिश्च तस्याम् ।
कुर्यात्पवित्रैस्त्रिविधैस्तु विष्णोः
संपूजनं पुण्यफलस्य हेतोः ॥ १० ॥

पवित्राद्वादशीव्रतम्—

द्वादश्यां गुरवे सुमन्त्रविधिना कुर्यात्पवित्रार्पणं
शौचाद्यापदिके च भक्तिनियुतैः पूर्णासु हर्यर्क्षके ।
अस्यामेव दधिव्रतं वितनुयादारोग्यसौख्येप्सुभिः
सन्नयमाम्य मनुजैस्तदर्पणविवि(र्वि)प्राय पूर्णे व्रते ॥ ११ ॥

श्रावणीनिर्णयः—

श्रावण्यां श्रवणेऽथवा द्विजवरैः कुर्यादुपाकर्मकं
संक्रान्तिग्रहणादिदूषिततिथौ प्रागात्रिकाले यदा ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

कार्यं श्रावणिका सिता च करभाख्यां नागतिथ्यां बुधैः
श्रावण्यां विधिना च विष्टिरहिते सद्रक्षिकाबन्धनम् ॥ १२ ॥

अशून्यशयनव्रतम्—

कृष्णा वै द्वितिया नभस्युदयगा रि(इ)न्दोरशून्यस्वपं
कुर्याद्वै जलपात्रगं सहरमाविष्णुं नरैः पूजयेत् ।
भुक्त्वा सार्पियवान् तदर्पणविधिं मासे च मासे पुनः
कार्तिक्यां प्रतिमादिगोभूशयनीदानात्सुसौख्यार्थदम् ॥ १३ ॥

अथ कज्जलिकाव्रततिथिनिर्णयः—

कृष्णा या तृतिया नभस्युदयगा तस्यां सु[स]स्यार्थिभिः
कुर्यात्कज्जलिकाव्रतं बहुगुणं गौर्यर्चनाज्जागरात् ।
प्रत्येकान्नविभोजनात्सुविधिना पश्चाब्दिकान्ते पुन—
र्वस्त्राद्याभरणैः स्वभोज्यविधिना स्त्रीणां समभ्यर्चयेत् ॥ १४ ॥

बहुलाचतुर्थीव्रतम्—

कृष्णा चतुर्थि बहुलेत्यभिधानिका स्या—
त्तस्यां यवान्नमशनेन नितम्बिनीभिः ।
सच्छ्रावणे निशियुता च सदा प्रशस्ता
वत्सार्चनं कलुषनाशकरं विधेयम् ॥ १५ ॥

संकटचतुर्थीव्रतम्—

कृष्णे वै नभसार्कगे गणपतेस्तिथ्यां च चन्द्रोदये
संकष्टोत्तरणव्रती गणपतिं संपूजयेद्भक्तितः ।
नैवेद्यं च सुमोदकैर्वितनुयात्सर्वेषु मासेष्वपि
स्वर्गाङ्क(२१)प्रतिमे समासु हवनं दानार्पणं भोजनम् ॥ १६ ॥

हलषष्ठीव्रतम्—

या कृष्णा हलषष्ठिसंज्ञिततिथिः सा सप्तमीसंयुता
ग्राह्या श्रावणिका च कार्षुकजनैः कुर्याद्व्रतं धान्यदम् ।
समन्त्रैश्च हलाधिपं सुवृषभान्भूमिं समभ्यर्चये—
द्भुक्त्वा वै सुयवाँश्च वेदविदुषे सद्धान्यदानार्पणम् ॥ १७ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

शीतलासप्तमी—

या सप्तमी श्रावणकृष्णपक्षे
षष्ठ्यन्विता शीतलिकाव्रते च ।
तस्यां सुपुत्रार्थिनीभिस्तु देवीं
संपूजयेच्छीतलभक्ष्यभोज्यैः ॥ १८ ॥

दशफलाव्रतम्—

या कृष्णाष्टमि श्रावणे दशफला संज्ञा निशीथान्विता
तस्यामब्जदलैर्हरिं च सुव्रती वृन्दादलैः पूजयेत् ।
स्तुत्या दोरकबन्धनं च दशमे घस्रे द्विजान्भोजये–
देवं वै दशमाब्दिके च हवनं पीठार्पणं मुक्तिदम् ॥ १९ ॥

श्रीकृष्णजयन्तीव्रतम्—

मासे श्रावणकेऽष्टमी च बहुला चन्द्रोदयव्यापिनी
सा वै रोहिणिसंयुतेति परमा स्मार्तैर्जयन्तीव्रते ।
तस्यां वै सुव्रती सुपूजनविधिं कृत्वाथ तत्पारणं
तिथ्यन्तेऽप्यथवा च भान्तसमये संभोज्य विप्राँस्ततः ॥ २० ॥

जन्माष्टमीतिथिनिर्णयः—

सा शुद्धाष्टमि केवला च नवमी ह्रासे तु जन्माष्टमी
ग्राह्या विष्णुपरायणैश्च विबुधैर्जन्मोत्सवे सद्व्रते ।
कृत्वा पुण्यव्रतं निशीथसमये तस्यां च कृष्णार्चनं
कुर्यान्नन्दमहोत्सवं स्वविभवैः सत्संप्रदायादिभिः ॥ २१ ॥

अथ तयोरुद्यापनविधिरा(मा)ह—

तदुद्यापनके तयोर्व्रतधरः सन्मण्डपे मण्डले
श्रीकृष्णं वसुदेवदेवकीयुतं संकर्षणं रोहिणीम् ।
कुर्याद्वै विधिनार्चनं स्वविभवैर्नन्दादिगोपाँस्तथा
रात्रौ जागरणं सपीठप्रतिमादानात्सुसायुज्यदम् ॥ २२ ॥

मन्वादितिथिः—

या पूर्वविद्धाष्टमि कृष्णपक्षे
मन्वादिका श्रावणमासिका च ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

स्नाने च दाने सुरपूजने च
पित्र्यर्चने वै परमातिपुण्या ॥ २३ ॥

अजा नामैकादशी—

नभैकादशी कृष्णपक्षे त्वजाख्या
व्रती सिञ्चयेच्छ्रीधरं गोघृतेन ।
घृतेनैव होमं सु[व]ख्स्य दानं
ददेद्विप्रवर्याय मोक्षार्थसिद्धयै ॥ २४ ॥

शिवमङ्गलाव्रतम्—

या वै चतुर्दशितिथिर्नभकृष्णपक्षे
तस्यां नरैर्वितनुयाच्छिवपूजनं च ।
सद्वाद्यघोषनिशिजागरणादिभिश्च
सत्सौख्यदं व्रतमिदं शिवमङ्गलाख्यम् ॥ २५ ॥

वरदलक्ष्मीव्रतम्—

मासे श्रावणकेऽन्त्यभार्गवदिने कर्कार्कयुक्ते तदा
कुर्याद्वै वरलक्ष्मिसंज्ञिकव्रतं धर्मार्थिकामप्रदम् ।
लक्ष्मीं धातुमयीं विधाय चतुरैः कुम्भस्थितामर्चये–
द्भक्त्या दोरकबन्धनं च वयनान्दद्यात्सुभक्त्यादिभिः ॥ २६ ॥

अथ दर्भमोचिनीनिर्णयः—

या वै श्रावणिका कुहूः सुफलदा ग्राह्या च भूतान्विता
तस्यां वै विदुषैः सुमन्त्रविधिना कुर्यात्कुशोत्पाटनम् ।
सा चेत्सूर्यकुजेन्दुवारसहिता पातान्विता पितृभे
सूर्ये वै परमातिदुर्लभतरा सत्स्नानदानादिषु ॥ २७ ॥

सिंहक्रान्तिः—

संज्ञा विष्णुपदीति सिंहभरविः संचारतः पौर्विका
नाड्यः षोडश पुण्यदेति कथिता[स्]तासु सुखार्थी नरः ।
स्नात्वा पुण्यजले रविं च विधिना संपूज्य विप्राय वै
छत्रं हेमसमन्वितं च विधिवद्दद्यात्सुराज्यप्रदम् ॥ २८ ॥

इति श्रीनिर्णयमञ्जर्यां श्रावणमासव्रतोत्सवतिथिनिर्णयो नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥ ५ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

॥ षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ भाद्रपदमासस्येश्वरादीनाह—

भाद्राख्यमासि हृषिकेशनिदेशतस्तु
शुक्रप्रभावविबलेन चरेद्विवस्वान् ।
सच्छङ्खपालसहनृत्यपरानुमोचा
वाद्यादिवादनपरः खलु उग्रसेनः ॥ १ ॥

हरितालिकाव्रतम्—

भाद्रे या तृतिया सिता उदयगा तस्यां च नारीजनैः
कुर्याद्वै हरितालिकाव्रतमिदं सत्पुण्यसौभाग्यदम् ।
कृत्वा गौरिहरार्चनं च वयनान्दत्त्वा सुवस्त्रैः फलैः
पूर्णे षोडशवत्सरे द्विजवरान्सा[33]पत्यकान्पूजयेत ॥ २ ॥

हस्तगौरीव्रतम्—

मासे भाद्रपदे सिता सुतृतिया हस्तर्क्षयुक्ता तिथौ
वैधव्यादिदरिद्रनाशनकरं सद्धस्तगौरीव्रतम् ।
कुर्यात्सार्धत्रयोदशैस्तु कुसुमैर्गौरीहरस्यार्चना–
द्वर्षे वै मनुसंमिते सुविधिना पीठार्पणं भोजनम् ॥ ३ ॥

कोटीश्वरीव्रतम्—

भाद्रे सिते वै तृतिया तिथौ च
व्रतं सुकोटीश्वरिसंज्ञकं स्यात् ।
अखण्डितैः शालिभिर्वै युवत्या
गौर्यर्चनं पुत्रसुखाप्तिहेतोः ॥ ४ ॥

मन्वादितिथिः –

पौर्वाह्णिकी या तृतिया च भाद्रे
मन्वादिकृत्ये परमा सिताख्या ।
भाद्राद्यपक्षे करभे हितं स्या–
दुत्सर्गकर्म खलु सामगानाम् ॥ ५ ॥

---

33 दा marg. for सा.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

सिद्धिविनायकव्रतम्—

भाद्रे या सुचतुर्थिका सितगता मध्याह्नसंव्यापिनी
तस्यां सिद्धिविनायकस्य सुव्रतं सत्सौख्यलाभप्रदम् ।
कुर्याद्वै सुगजाननं च विधिना संपूजयेन्मोदकैः
स्वर्गाङ्कप्रमितैस्ततो द्विजवरान्संभोज्य तद्दापयेत् ॥ ६ ॥

चन्द्रदर्शनापवादः—

भाद्रे वै सितगा चतुर्थिदिवसे स्नानं च दानं तथा
भोज्यं वा द्विजभोजनं दशगुणं पुण्यं लभेन्मानवः ।
तस्यां चन्द्रविलोकनेन मनुजो मिथ्याभिशापं व्रजे-
त्तद्बाधापहरं मणेश्च चरितं श्रुत्वा पठेद्वा बुधः ॥ ७ ॥

अथ कपर्दीश्वरविनायकव्रतम्—

मासेऽस्तादिविवर्जितेऽर्कदिवसे शुद्धा चतुर्थीतिथौ
सन्मन्त्रैर्व्रतवान्कपर्दिगणपं संपूजयेद्भक्तितः ।
सर्द्वर्ची वटवे वराटकगणं सत्तण्डुलैः संयुतं
दत्त्वैवं तु[34] चतुष्कभानुदिवसैः सर्वांश्च कामान्लभेत् ॥ ८ ॥

ऋषिपञ्चमी—

या वै पञ्चमिका नभस्यसितगा सूर्योदयव्यापिनी
तस्यां सप्त ऋषीन्सुमन्त्रविभवैः संपूजयेत्सुव्रती ।
स्वकृष्यान्नफलैस्तु विप्रयजनं कृत्वाब्दिके सप्तमे
सत्पूजादिविधानतोऽर्चनविधिः पीठार्पणं सौख्यदम् ॥ ९ ॥

सूर्यषष्ठीव्रतम्—

षष्ठी तिथिः परयुता धवला च भाद्रे
सा सूर्यषष्ठिति हि पुण्यकरा च तस्याम् ।
स्नात्वा सुतीर्थसलिले च रविं समर्च्य
यः पञ्चगव्यमशनं कुरुते स शुद्धः ॥ १० ॥

---

34 before corr. सु

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ललिताषष्ठी—

षष्ठी भाद्रपदे सिता च ललिता संज्ञेति तस्यां व्रती
पात्रे वंशमये सुवेलुजनितां सत्पञ्चपिण्डाकृतिम् ।
कृत्वा वै ललितां स्मरन्सुकुसुमैः संपूज्य सज्जागरं
सप्तम्यां सरितं नयेत्सुविधिना दानादिना सौख्यभाक् ॥ ११ ॥

मुक्ताभरणी—

भाद्रे वै सितसप्तमीदिनदले कुर्यात्सुपुत्रार्थिनी
मुक्ताहेमविनिर्मिताञ्जुलियकं[35] सोमात्मकं पूजयेत् ।
पश्चाद्दोरकबन्धनं व्रतवती मासे च मासेऽर्चनं
वर्षान्ते च समुद्रिकार्पणविधिं कुर्याद्द्विजान्भोजयेत् ॥ १२ ॥

राधाष्टम्युत्सवम् (वः)—

शुद्धाष्टभ्यां भाद्रशुक्ले प्रकुर्या-
च्छ्रीमद्राधाजन्मकालोत्सवं च ।
मध्याह्ने वै वैष्णवैर्भक्तियुक्तैः
श्रीसूक्तेनासिञ्चनं मुक्तिहेतोः ॥ १३ ॥

ज्येष्ठाव्रतम्—

ज्येष्ठे भाद्रपदेऽष्टमीसुरपती-ऋक्षान्वितायां व्रतं
ज्येष्ठाख्यं सुतसौख्यदं त्रिदिवसं वन्ध्यत्वदोषापहम् ।
मैत्रे वै विनिमन्त्रयेच्छुभकरीं ज्येष्ठार्क्षगे पूजनं
कुर्याज्जागरणं विसर्जनविधिं मूलेऽर्कवर्षात्मकम् ॥ १४ ॥

नीलज्येष्ठाव्रतम्—

सा वै सूर्यदिनान्विता यदि भवेत्तन्नीलज्येष्ठाव्रतं
पूर्वेद्युः सिकतां नयेत्सुप्रतिमां कृत्वाथ सन्मण्डले ।
स्थाप्या तामपरेऽह्नि पूजनविधिं कृत्वाथ सौवासिनी
संपूज्येदपरेऽह्नि पूजिततमान्दत्त्वाखिलार्थाल्लभेत् ॥ १५ ॥

दूर्वाष्टमी—

सिंहार्केऽनुदिते मुनौ नभसि[36] या शुक्लाष्टमी पूर्विका
तस्यां वै सुफलैरनम्रिपचितैरन्नैश्च दूर्वां यजेत् ।

---

35 यकमिदं (be. corr,). 36 भसि in marg.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ज्येष्ठामूलयुता भवेद्यदि सकृद्धुक्तापि तामर्चये–
त्सौभाग्यादिसमृद्धये युवतिभिर्वन्द्यं न नेयं दिनम् ॥ १६ ॥

अथात्र प्रसङ्गादगस्त्योदयकालः—

उदेति याम्यां हरिसंक्रमाद्वे–
र्वैकाधिके विंशतिमे ह्यगस्त्यः ।
स सप्तमेऽस्तं वृषसंक्रमाच्च
प्रयाति **गर्गा**दिभिरप्यभाणीः(णि) ॥ १७ ॥

उद्यानिका शिवपवित्रकमेघपूजा
दूर्वाष्टमी फलविरूढकजागराणि ।
स्त्रीणां व्रतानि निखिलानि सजागराणि
कुर्यादगस्त्य–उदितेन शुभानि लिप्सुः ॥ १८ ॥

अगस्त्यार्घः

भाद्रे त्वगस्त्युदयगे प्रथमेऽह्नि भक्त्या
कृत्वा कुशस्य कुसुमैः प्रतिमा च रम्या ।
स्थाप्या सुतीर्थसलिले च निशाविरामे
अर्घार्चनं नगदिनैर्विविधार्थदं स्यात् ॥ १९ ॥

महालक्ष्मीव्रतम्—

या ज्येष्ठ्यार्क्षयुताष्टमी निशिदले तस्यां सुलक्ष्मीव्रतं
प्रारम्भेद्व्रतधारिणी नृपगुणं सूत्रं करे धारयेत् ।
नित्यं पूजनतत्परा स्वविभवैर्यावत्सुकृष्णाष्टमी
तस्यां जागरणार्चनं च हवनं दानैः सुरैश्वर्यदम् ॥ २० ॥

दशावतारव्रतम्—

मासे च भाद्रे सितगे दशम्यां
स्नात्वा सुतीर्थे व्रतवान्मनुष्यः ।
दशावतारान्विधिना समर्च्य
दशाब्दिकाद्विष्णुपदं प्रयाति ॥ २१ ॥

पद्मा नामैकादशी—

भाद्रे शुक्लविभागके हरितिथिः पद्मेति सा कीर्तिता
तस्यां वै हृषिकेश्वरं सुपयसा संपूजयेत्सुव्रती ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

होमं वै सचरुर्घृतेन मधुना गोधूमदानार्पणा–
द्वादश्यां लभते फलं बहुगुणं यद्ब्रह्ममेधोद्भवम् ॥ २२ ॥

श्रावणद्वादशी—

नाभस्या सितगा हरेस्तिथिरसौ हर्यक्षयुक्ता तिथौ
विष्णुः शृङ्खलयोगके स्वविभवैः सन्मन्त्रपूजादिभिः ।
पर्यावर्तनकं हरेर्वितनुयाद्भक्त्या निशाजागरा–
द्दानाद्यैर्द्विजभोजनैर्व्रतवतः सारूप्यमुक्तिं व्रजेत ॥ २३ ॥

वामनजयन्ती—

तस्यामेव दिने दिनार्धसमये श्रीवामनं पूजये–
द्विष्णुशृङ्खलके तु पूर्वदिवसे पूर्वाह्णि जन्मोत्सवम् ।
कुर्याद्द्वादशिकामुपोष्य विधिना तत्पारणं सद्व्रती
हर्यक्षस्य च मध्यभागघटिका त्यक्ताथ मोक्षार्थिभिः ॥ २४ ॥

शक्रध्वजस्थापनोत्सवम्(वः)—

यो वै वामनजन्ममङ्गलदिने शक्रध्वजं स्थापये–
द्देवानां सदने लभेत्स मनुजो सौख्यं सुरेन्द्रोपमम् ।
अस्यामेव तिथौ पयोव्रतमिदं सप्ताह्निकं सद्गुणं
कुर्याद्वै हरिपूजनादिविधिभिर्गव्याशनाद्वर्जितैः ॥ २५ ॥

गोत्रिरात्रव्रतम्—

शुक्ले भाद्रपदे त्रयोदशितिथौ धेनोस्त्रिरात्रिव्रतं
कुर्यात्पुत्रसुखार्थिनी सुकलशे लक्ष्मीपतिं पूजयेत् ।
धेनोरर्चनतत्परा निरशना सज्जागरेणान्विता
वर्षे वै तृतिये च वाचनविधिर्गोधान्यपीठार्पणैः ॥ २६ ॥

अशोकव्रतम्—

शुक्ले भाद्रपदे च मन्मथतिथौ कुर्यात्त्रिघस्रं व्रतं
सत्सौभाग्यसुखार्थिनी स्वविभवैराशोकवृक्षाङ्घ्रिके ।
सीतालक्ष्मणसंयुतं रघुवरं संपूज्य तं प्रार्थये–
द्राक्षाद्यैः सुफलैः परिक्रमविधिस्तुर्येऽह्नि तत्पारणम् ॥ २७ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अनन्तव्रतम्—

भाद्रे शुक्लचतुर्दशी परयुता मुहूर्तमात्रापि सा
ग्राह्यानन्तव्रते विधानचतुरैः संकर्षणं पूजयेत् ।
कृत्वा दोरकबन्धनं च यवनान्भोक्ष्यैः फलैर्दापये-
त्तदुद्यापनकं चरेन्मनुमिते वर्षेष्वभीष्टार्थदम् ॥ २८ ॥

उमामहेश्वरव्रतम्—

राका भाद्रपदे च भूतसहिता पूर्णा क्रतौ पुण्यदा
तस्यां वै तु[37] उमामहेश्वरव्रती भक्त्या च तौ पूजयेत् ।
ग्रन्थीपञ्चदशात्मकं दृढतरं सद्दोरकं धारये-
द्वर्षे पञ्चदशे तु मण्डलगतौ संपूजनादर्थदौ ॥ २९ ॥

पितृपक्षारम्भे श्राद्धतिथिनिर्णयः—

राकाष्टादशनाडिगा च नभसी मासे तु तस्यां नरो
नान्दीश्राद्धविधानतः पितृगणान्नान्दीमुखान्संयजेत् ।
पूर्वं वै तु तिलोदकादियजनं नित्यं ततोऽर्ध्यार्चनं
सव्यासव्यविधानतो द्विजवरान्संभोज्य पिण्डार्चनम् ॥ ३० ॥

महालयनिर्णयम्(यः)—

भाद्रे मासि परे दले च सविता कन्यार्क्षगे मानवै-
राकाद्यैस्तु महालयं नृपदिनैः पितॄन्सुसंतोषयेत् ।
तदशक्तैः स्वपितुर्विनाशकतिथिर्लुप्तासु वै यत्नतः
पिण्डाद्यर्चनविप्रभोज्यविधिभिस्तृप्तिर्भवेद्वार्षिकी ॥ ३१ ॥

अथ महालये पिण्डाधिकारिणः—

तातम्बातृती(त्रित)यं सपत्नजननी मातामहादित्रयं
स्वस्त्रिस्त्रीतनयादितातजननीस्वभ्रातरस्तत्स्त्रियः ।
तातम्बात्मभगिन्यपत्यधवयुक् जायापिता सद्गुरुः
शिष्याप्ताः पितरो महालयविधौ तीर्थे तथा तर्पणे ॥ ३२ ॥[38]

इति महालयपिण्डाधिकारिणः ।

---

37 Note hiatus. 38 Scribe's mistake in numbering verses, from here upto the end of adh. 6 is corrected.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

बृहद्गौरीव्रतम्—

भाद्रे चापरपक्षगे च तृतीया चन्द्रोदयव्यापिनी
तस्यां सौख्ययशेप्सिनी व्रतधरा गौरीं बृहत्संज्ञिकाम् ।
रेणूमण्डलगां समर्च्य विधिना सद्दोरकं धारये–
त्पक्वान्नैर्वयनादिभोजनविधिं वर्षे तु वै पञ्चमे ॥ ३३ ॥

चन्द्रषष्ठीव्रतम्—

षष्ठी प्रौष्ठपदे दले च बहुले चन्द्रोदयव्यापिनी
पूर्वाह्णा च परान्विता हितकरा स्याच्चन्द्रषष्ठीव्रते ।
तस्यां वै मनुजोऽर्चयेद्व्रतधरश्चन्द्रं सुचन्द्रोदये
स स्थाल्योदनशर्करान्वितपयो दद्यात्सुसौख्यान्वितः ॥ ३४ ॥

कपिलाषष्ठी—

भाद्रे कृष्णदले कुजेऽह्नि विधिभे षष्ठी च पातान्विता
हस्तार्के कपिलाभिधा बहुगुणा स्नात्वा रविं पूजयेत् ।
[39]* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
दद्याद्वै कपिलां च वेदविदुषे मुक्तीप्सुभिर्मानवैः ॥ ३५ ॥

मातृनवमी—

या स्याद्भाद्रपदे च कृष्णनवमी ग्राह्या धृतिर्नाडिका
स्यादन्वष्टकिसंज्ञितार्चनविधौ श्राद्धं त्रिभिः पार्वणैः ।
मातृणां यजनेऽपि सा हिततमा जीवत्पितापि चरे–
त्पिण्डाद्यर्चनपूर्वकं द्विजवरान्पत्नीसहान्भोजयेत् ॥ ३६ ॥

इन्दिरैकादशीव्रतम्—

नभसि विष्णुतिथिः परगेन्दिरा
समधुना हृषिकेशविपूजनम् ।
हवनकर्मविधिं मधुनाचरे–
ल्लभति पुण्यफलं यवदानतः ॥ ३७ ॥

---

39 Line is missing.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

द्वादशीश्राद्धम्—

संन्यासिनां वैष्णवानां जटीनां
वानप्रस्थानां च दिग्वस्त्रकाणाम् ।
द्वादश्यां वै पितृपक्षे प्रकुर्या-
देकोद्दिष्टं तत्सुतैर्भक्तियुक्तैः ॥ ३८ ॥

त्रयोदशीश्राद्धम्—

भाद्रे कृष्णदले च मन्मथतिथिर्व्यासा पराह्णेति या
पुण्या स्यात्सुयुगादिकृत्यविषये स्नानेऽर्चने तर्पणे ।
तस्यां श्राद्धविधानकं वितनुयात्सत्पुत्रसंवर्जितैः
सद्भात्रैरनपत्यकाँश्च विधिवत्संस्कारहीनान् यजेत् ॥ ३९ ॥

अथ चतुर्दशीश्राद्धम्—

शस्त्रास्त्राग्निजलैः सरीसृपनखीदंष्ट्रीमगर्यादिभि-
र्विद्युत्पातमहीरुहादिपतनैः पञ्चत्वयातात्मनाम् ।
एकोद्दिष्टविधानतो हि यजनं भाद्रेऽपरे पक्षके
भूतायां पुरुषत्रयेऽथ नशने दुर्मृत्युभिः पार्वणम् ॥ ४० ॥

अथामावास्या च गजच्छाया—

मासे भाद्रे या कुहूः पूर्वविद्धा
पितृणां वै पूजने तृप्तिदात्री ।
सा चेद्भस्तार्के च चन्द्रेऽतिपुण्या
ज्ञेया छाया [40]कौञ्जरी श्राद्धकाले ॥ ४१ ॥

अथाजाप्रतिपच्छ्राद्धम्—

दौहित्रः स्वविभवैरिषावाद्यघस्रे
प्रातः सुसङ्गवगते विधिनार्चयेद्वै ।
मातामहादिपुरुषानथ विद्यमाने
सन्मातुलेऽपि स पितापि च जातमात्रः ॥ ४२ ॥

---

40 Before corr. कुंजरी.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

कन्यासंक्रान्तिः—

षडशीतिमुखसंज्ञिकेति कथिता शर्दर्तुसंवेशकः(ने)
कन्यायां रविसंक्रमान्नृपमिता नाड्यः परा(:) पुण्यदा(:)।
स्नात्वा पुण्यजलेऽर्चयेद्दिनकरं पित्तृन्सुरान्वै यजे–
द्धेम्नं वा सुमहं द्विजाय विधिवद्दानं च स्वर्गप्रदम् ॥ ४३ ॥

इति श्रीनिर्णयमञ्जर्यां भाद्रपदस्य व्रतोत्सवनिर्णयं(यो) नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥ ६ ॥

Continued]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CONTEMPORARY RĀMĀYAṆA TRADITION IN GUJARAT

By
DEVDATTA JOSHI*

1.1 Though devotion to Kṛṣṇa and literature about it dominates the literary field in Gujarat, there is a parallel stream of worship of Rāma and its literature flowing equally powerfully through sessions on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāmā-lores, reading the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmacaritamānasa* as a daily ritual which are regular features in the public life augmented by building of Rāma and Hanumāna temples, the enacting of Rāma's life-events through Rāmalīlās, the Bhavāī (a form of public folk-drama in Gujarat). So are scores of books published with different view points, and in different styles. All this leads one to conclude, in a nutshell, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition has been alive to-day in Gujarat through medieval times. Hence, this paper gives broad outlines of variety of presentations centered round the Rāmāyaṇa through oral and literary activities as well as the performed Arts and thus points out the place of the Rāmāyaṇa in the cultural and literary life of Gujarat.

2.0 *Oral tradition :*

The Kathā or the oral public narrative tradition that developed alongwith corresponding litrary and folk-Art traditions provided the sustaining and nourishing strength to the cultural life, severely lashed by the Muslim rule in Gujarat. Against the foreign attack of an alien religious and cultural traditions, people sought shelter like a tortoise, in their inner circles in the form of castes, mahājans (sort of social guilds) or the Panchāyats (rural committees) as a natural inspiration for self-preservation. Thus they madetheir traditional routines secured in the Panchāyats with the result that religious and cultural literature also grew upto suit the needs of the common man and not for scholars only as such. Even to-day a Rāmakathā by an able Orator-cum-Narrator attracts a hundred thousand strong audience even in a mofussil. Strangely enough this popular literature was composed in families, temples and in the celebrations and gatherings, both religious and social or cultural in elites and rural areas as stated by Govardhanram Tripathi.[1]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2. Sept.-December, 1987 issue, pp. 127-141.

* Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda-390 002 (India). This paper was read and discussed in person at the International Seminar on "contemporary Rāmāyaṇa traditions" held in Bonn (W. Germany) during 20-24 September 1987.

1 Vide Rāvala Anantarāya "Gujarātī Sāhitya Madhya-Kālīna" (Gujarati literature-Medieval) Pub. by Macmillan, Bombay, 1963, Second ed., p. 17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Such literary activities kept the social fibre of Gujarat undisturbed and healthy. People, at large, organised their life in daily rites and rituals, meditation and worship, going to temples, following religious practices, celebrations, recitals and attending religious preachings, puranic tale-assemblies or narrators. The saints, preachers and devotees attracted the common man and so did pilgrimages. These were the sources of entertainment, too. As the poet Akho states, the puppet-shows, performances of rope-dances and the like, the stagings of popular-folk-lores and songs by Bajāṇiās (a sect using musical choirs), the presentations of the Bhavāī, Meḷās discourses of the Jain saints, adventure-lores of Bhāṭa and Chāraṇas drew from these sources. Even Shāmala's narrative—compositions got inspiration from such an atmosphere. Thus the public-narrative art has been so intricately woven in the literary, oral and art traditions of Gujarat.[2]

2.1 The Rāmāyaṇa was orally recited in public in Gujarat as far back as in the Thirteenth century. There is a reference in the historical episodes of the Thirteenth century, as Hardeva, a disciple of a learned brahmin Cācariyāka narrated the Rāmāyaṇa orally and attracted the audience of Āshāpalli near modern Ahmedabad. There was a competition between Haradeva and Govinda cācariyāka from Mahārāshtra. The word cācariyāka derives from 'catvara' (Sanskrit) and 'cācara' (Prakrit) meaning a square in a locality. Thus 'cācariyāka' came to mean a narrator of *Kathā*s in public.[3] Thus it is clear, these Narrators of the *Rāmāyaṇa* attracted great crowds in the Thirteenth century in Gujarat.[4]

2.2. From Thirteenth century Narration in public did the task of cultural seeding so much so that every place had it's narrator (known as *Purāṇi* or *Vyāsa* or *Māṇa Bhatta*) and a set audience. Often the priest for rituals was the Narrator too, in a village. People attended these Narration-sessions regularly during the monsoon specially when Narration of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* and the like was staged in the temples in villages and in halls or shamiyāṇās in the open places in cities. This is true even to—day. Often, the village temple—priest takes up a religious theme or narrative-tales from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the like and recites the verses and comments on them in his own way. Such a person may employ this Purāṇa or that and need not be a specialist of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the like. Of course one who specializes in the recital—cum—narration of the *Rāmā-*

---

2. *Ibid*, p. 18, 20, 23.

3 Muni Jinavijaya (ed.): Purātana Prabandha Saṃgraha, pub. Adhisthata Singhi Jain Jnanapeetha, Calcutta, 1936, First ed. p. 78.

4 Mehtā Hansā; A Summarized translation of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* in parallel verses: Introduction by Dr. Sāṇḍesarā B. J.: pub. N. M. Tripathi, Princess street, Bombay-2, Bāla-1952, Ayodhyā-Araṇya-1954, Kiṣhkindhā-Sundara 1955, Yuddha-1957, First ed.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

yaṇa is called *Rāmāyaṇī* just as the one of the *Bhāgawata* is named *Bhāgawatī* or *Bhāgwat—Kathākāra.* Such Narrations are arranged now a days based on the life—stories of Dattātreya as narrated in the '*Shri Gurulīlāmṛta*' composed in verse form, by Śrī Raṅga Avadhoota, a saint of Dattātreya—worship tradition in Gujarat.

We will touch the main *Rāmāyaṇa*—narrators, who, usually develop their narrations of some episodes or tales on the basis of the *Vālmīki—Rāmāyaṇa* or *Rāmacaritamānasa.* They weave in events narrated in the *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Yogavāsiṣṭha,* the *Hanumannāṭaka,* the *padma-purāṇā,* the *Bhāgawata,* the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa,* the commentary of Priyadāsa on *Bhakta-māla* or the *Devī-bhāgawata.* They adopt the material to their needs and so the form of their narration can be said to be—"*Nānāpurāṇa-nigamāgamasammataṁ yad Rāmāyaṇe nigaditaṁ kvacidanyato vā*". (Now in accord with all the Purāṇas, the Vedas and the Āgamas that which is told in the Rāmāyaṇa and culled from other sources too, Tulasī for his own soul's delight declares at length, the story of Raghunāth, composed in very charming modern speech) as making the narration lucid, interesting and absorbing is the aim. In between they bring in topics that refer to real life around some satire or advice or ideals included.

2.3. Minute observations of the individual and society at large with peculiar interpretations of persons and events, suggestions to improvement alongwith suitable illustrative episodes help the audience to learn about things in an interesting manner or enjoy while getting enlightened. Sometimes life-stories of saints, heroes or personal experiences together with funny or amusing events are narrated. These sugar-coated pills instruct the audience as to proper behaviour or course in life as that is the goal of these public narrators. The narrator may point out with examples how the ideals depicted in the *Rāmāyaṇa* could be followed. Often an atmosphere of devotion-sentiment is created with the help of prayers, folk-songs, recitals of Harināma by the audience too and active-participation as such. This may lead to keep the main narration unfinished. Just imagine a locality sans Radio, films, Talkies, T.V., Video and night-time with the option to attend such a public performance or going to bed as the streets had either no lamp-posts or had flickering torches only ! There were no fees, fares or tickets though one could offer gifts to the narrator, if at all he wished.

2.4 *A few prominent narrators of the Rāmāyaṇa in Gujarat :*

(A) *Kathākāras :*

Śrī Kṛṣṇaśaṅkara Śāstrī ;

A profound scholar of Sanskrit, an orator with powerful command over words and their multiferious interpretations. Śrī Śāstrī known as "*Bhāgawata-Mārtaṇḍa* (*Bhāgawata*—Sun)" has founded a Bhāgawata University at Solā near Ahmedabad. The *Bhāgawata* is completely preserved in marble-carvings

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

and drawings. Here studies are made of all the *Śāstras* starting from the Vedas and the Upaniṣadas. The "*Rāmāyaṇa navaneeta*" is the edited composition that includes the speeches and narrations of this founder of Indology Institute. It is replete with erudite explanation about the spiritual secrets of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāvaṇa, the ten-headed one represents infatuation caused by ten senses; the fourteen senses mean the fourteen geographical mounds of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and so on. Kaikeyī, who sent Rāma to the forest really meant to find out whether her son Bharata was interested in Rāma or in the throne and when she discovered Bharata's genuine interest in Rāma, she feels elated. She shows therein balance of mind. Kaikeyī's behaviour is thus interpreted as her terrible power to turn events that are ultimately useful to the world around.

2.4.1 *Ḍongare Mahārāja:*

Śrī Rāmacandra Ḍongare Śāstrī of Baroda is primarily a *Bhāgawata-Kathākāra*. He feels that his Narration-session should be forever, a service to the suffering ones. With 115 narrations of the *Bhāgawata*, Śrī Ḍongarejī attracts an audience of three to four hundred thousand every time. He, at times, narrates the *Rāmāyaṇa* too wherein his narrations, comments and co-ordination found in his "*Tatwārtha-Rāmāyaṇa*" are based on the *Rāmacaritamānasa*, the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyṇa*, *Vālmīki Rāmāyṇa* and *Yogavāsiṣṭha* as such. As a *Bhaāgawata-kathākāra*. he has drawn comparisons between Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, His interpretations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*—episodes show a new insight that Rāma destroyed one eye of Jayanta means one should see with one eye, the divine eye. He feels that when Kṛṣṇa enters Rādhā's abode in feminine dress it shows that there is only one entity that may appear as a God or a Goddess. Such is the originality in his way of looking at Puranic events.

Some of his interpretations are as under :

(i) The fight between Lakṣmaṇa and Indrajita was really a rivalry between Ūrmilā and Sulocanā and Ūrmilā's husband had victory as he considered other women as mothers while Sulocanā's husband took the side of one who had an evil eye to other women.

(ii) The stones with Rāma's name swam and built the bridge, but when Rāma threw the stones himself, they sank. Hanumāna points out to Rāma that whatever Rāma holds in his hand can swim while what he throws away sinks.

(iii) When Rāvaṇa, flying in the sky, saw the marriage-pandal in Janaka's capital, he went there and asked why he did not receive the invitation. To this Janaka referred him to his minister, who referred to the messenger who said he thought the ocean was Rāvaṇa's messenger and so on. This seems to be an imaginary episode.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(iv) The episode of the boatman and Rāma is made interesting by taking help of the popular Bhajan of Dulā Kāga, namely, "Paga mane Dhovā dyo Raghurāi (O Rāma ! let me wash your feet).

2.4.2. *Morārībāpu :*

'*Rāmacaritamānasa*' is the basis of the compilation '*Amṛta Rāmāyaṇa*' which gives the text of the narration of the *Rāmāyaṇa*—episodes by Morārībāpu, who was born in a Vaiṣṇava family of Talagājaraḍā in Saurāshtra and who had one thousand and eight narration-recitals of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Mahuvā. He invited on the last day of these recitals, Harijan men and women to perform the lamp-showing ceremony to remove their inferiority complex. Morārībāpu has attracted at his narration-cum-recitals multitudinous crowds in U.K. and U.S.A. and at least five hundred thousand strong in India.

Morārībapu's outlook of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has a few important modifications.

(A) Sītā is such a lofty character that no human mother could give her birth and so earth alone gave her to the world.

(B) Śurpaṇakhā and Mantharā are not mentioned to end their life in the *Rāmacaritamānasa* as they still exist.

(C) Ūrmilā is 'Ūra-mīlā' or meeting of two hearts whereby she feels in any situation identically as Lakṣmaṇa does. Thus heart-beats are synchronized.

(D) Sītā had taken a vow of praying Śiva and staying in the forest for fourteen years provided the bow is broken by Rāma. That inspired Kaikeyī to ask for Rāma's stay in the forest not for fourteen days but years instead. This has the support of *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa*. In fact it was Vasiṣṭha who wanted Rāma to eliminate the evil spirits, the Rākṣasas and to resurrect noble traditions and culture. This led to the composition of the '*Pratimā-nāṭaka* by Bhāsa.

(E) Kevata's asking Rāma either to allow him to wash his feet or to walk from scanty water is based on the *Gītāvali* and *Kavitāvalī* by Tulasī.

(F) The episode that when the disciples of sage Matanga do not accept Śabarī as their fellow-disciple and find the water of Pampā-lake turned gory, it was the water of Śabarī's feet that turns the lake pure. This episode has the support of commentary on the *Bhaktamāla* by Priyadāsa in the eighteenth century.

There is, however, no support to some of the episodes narrated by Morārī-bāpu.

(A) Daśaratha said he did not want Kaikeyī to touch his dead-body.

(B) That Rāma had promised a public feeding on Jaṭāyu's death or

(C) In the battle of Laṅkā the vultures were fed or

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(D) That in the meeting on the outskirts of Laṅkā, the vultures decide that (a) one should not touch what other one is eating (b) only the young should eat the 'Rākṣasas' that were shot by Lakṣmaṇa (c) while those by Hanumāna be reserved for the old (d) while those killed by Rāma were open to all as his 'blessings' and (e) that no one should peak into Rāvaṇa's blood as it would fowl the intellect.

One more interpretation :

Lakṣmaṇa did not eat fruits of the Jujube tree. He had thrown away. The seeds of the fruit were carried to Droṇācala by the wind and water where they turned into Sañjīvanī or life-giver-plant which brought Lakṣmaṇa back to life. Can fruits turn into a life-giving plant ? Yes, because the fruits touched Śabarī's tongue that was made holy because of billions of recitals of Rāma's name ! A divine touch creates a marvel !

2.5 (B) *Saintly speakers and learned Orators :*

Pāṇḍuranga Vaijanātha Āṭhavale :

Śrī Pāṇḍuranga Āṭhavale Śāstrī of Roha has founded the Tatvajñāna Vidhyāpeeṭha in Bombay. '*Swādhyāya*' is the main slogan wherein the participant studies for himself through discourses. Śrī Āṭhavale propounds his viewpoints everyday in Madhavbag in Bombay to a regular audience of 1500 educated youth. His big lecture-gatherings are well-organized and systematic and even the crowd shows discipline. He intends to develop scientific viewpoint towards religion among the youth, and does this through 'organization for the aged' and 'Divine Brain Trust' activities.

His ideal is "acceptance of all religions" and not "Co-ordination of all religions". His '*Śrī Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa Darśana*' which contains his lectures gives a true picture of various systems of the *Rāmāyaṇa* period including polity, economy, social set-up, family organization, education system and the like. The information given is very authentic through delineation of characters such as of Rāma, Sītā, Daśaratha, sixteen in all. They give the then concepts of an ideal state, economy, religion, social relationships, true education through a novel way of looking at some of the characters. *Rāmarājya* or Rāma's rule was a Royal Democratic system. Opinion of the state people, citizens and office-bearers of Ayodhyā was sought for appointing Rāma as the king-designate. The king had the advisory council of eight sages whose voice prevailed. This has a parallel in the 'Guardian' systems of plato in his Republic. The *Rāmāyaṇa* accepted the caste-system to avoid improper rivalry. Unlike modern economists, a fine relation between economics and ethics is taken as the base. Social organization had domination of religious touch rather than the state codes. No society can survive without some class-division and as such Vālmīki has painted the national character of the House-hold stage of individual. Integrity was the basis of it.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Education was primarily through family while higher education was free in the forest-schools, where all disciples were equally treated and their inner capabilities brought out. Kaikeyī is childish as she sends Rāma to forest but when Bharata explains things, she tries to get Rāma back. Hanumān's burning Laṅkā was not an apish thing but an art of a statesman. Śrī Āṭhavale Śāstrī's discourses appeal even to the intellectuals.

2.5.1. *Swāmī Śrī Saccidānandajī* : *Saṃsāra Rāmāyaṇa* :

Śrī Arvinda Pāritoṣika (prize) of Gujarati Sāhitya Parishada for 1985 has been bestowed to this book. Swāmījī has his ' Āśrama ' at Dantālī in Kairā District where a Harijan performs the task of the temple priest. His lectures are based on *Rāmacaritamānasa* and he deals with the *Rāmāyaṇa* not as a religious or historical book but as a social literary product. He puts on new interpretations to solve modern problems. The ' *Saṃsāra Rāmāyaṇa* ' takes every event of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the light of modern reality. For him, one can lead a life of wonders without the element of miracles. According to Swāmījī the historical source of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a king of the Gupta dynasty whose son had to go to forest where his wife was kidnapped. The fight resulted in his victory and he returns to his kingdom (p. 8).

For him if Sītā, a woman has to go through an ordeal why not a man for how could such a thing fit in with the ideal of *Rāmarājya ?* Hence Swāmījī feels that the saints have an apathy to humaneness. He has a long ' *Vārtika* ' (annotation) on ' *Tyāga* ' (renunciation). The Mārica episode for him is violence for luxury of getting feathers, hides and the like of beasts just as he is against non-violence which causes over-population of rats, monkey, flies or mosquitoes (p. 349). He has a satire on considering cows sacred who are seen wandering in their skeletons. Pampā Sarovar shows Hindu civilization as giving prominence to water but what if it is dirty, is his comment. In fact, places of pilgrimage are polluted ones.

What's the message of the *Rāmāyaṇa ?* Anything beyond limits is harmful (p. 26) is the answer. Modern untouchability is a black spot in Hinduism, while Śabarī is given a respectable position in the *Rāmāyaṇa* even though the brahmins were the elite.

Why was Bharata not present when Rāma was to be anointed as king-designate ? In fact, Kaikeyī took the promise of her son to be the king when she agreed to marry with Daśaratha who had killed a lion with an arrow but was challenged by Kaikeyī, a forest-dweller as her arrow had pierced the heart of the lion and was the owner of the prey, thus making Daśaratha seek her hand in marriage.

Śabarī episode : When Rāma was heard to have come everyone claimed to welcome him first. The Dwivedī and Trivedī brahmins, the ruler and those

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

with rich offerings claimed to be first but the ruler claimed it on the power of his sword ! Finally the gathering dispersed while Śabarī wonders how she can see Rāma. Ultimately Rāma accepts her berries and again half-eaten ones as such. The Pandits feel Rāma has transgressed rules of religion and must have a penance ! (p. 385).

The demon Maya attacked Kiṣkindhā. Mexico has even to day some signs of this Maya civilization. Some hold that Rāvaṇa was born in Mexico at his maternal family.[5]

Hanumāna did not fly but swam to Laṅkā (p. 415).

Hanumāna was not a big ape but a forest-dweller putting on a mask of a monkey as is done even to-day in some Dravida forest people. Their surnames refer to some limbs of birds and beasts and they had a tail appended (p. 437)[6] or may be sea-farers who sailed from Europe to New Guinea via India perhaps had to stay here due to some calamity and these people—the white race were called Vānara by the local residents. The outsiders were strong. Vālī, Sugrīva, Hanumāna looked like white people who had a wild growth of hair. Hanumāna may be Hairman for people even utter Hanumāna as Haramāna. Perhaps this " hair " on the beard led to Sanskrit word Hanumāna (p. 438).

Sītā's ordeal is, according to Swāmījī, what Sītā herself proposed to go through while Rāma did not accept it as a woman's body is easy to be molested what is not her fault. According to Rāma, Sītā was as pure as he himself could be.

Rāma's refusal for the ordeal was to avoid setting a bad example and such attempts by others in the *Kaliyuga* (present times) (p. 482).

Sītā herself, left for the forest when libels were heard in Ayodhyā. She did this to have inheritors for Rāma, says Saccidānandajī.

2.6. (C) *Ramayanic tradition in the tribal people and regions of Gujarat.*

Bhīloḍī Rāmāyaṇa :

There is a *Rāmāyaṇa* of 17 songs in the tongue of the Bhills of Pancamahāl wherein Rāma-lores are found. To Rāma, who acts out for forest,

---

5 Gokāṇī P.; ' Sthānafera Dwārā Grahānukūlatā ' Janmabhoomi Pancāṅg for V.S. 2043, ed. Jyotiben Bhatt, Janmabhūmi Bhavan, Ghogha Street, Bombay-1, p. 13.

6 Padmabhūṣaṇa Śrīpāda Dāmodara Sātavaḷekar's ' *Bālakāṇḍakī Samālocanā* ' and ' *Yuddhakāṇḍakī Samālocanā* ' both in Hindi and hence not included in this paper gives rich information about this.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Sītā says :

"Sītā Jarīnī Māne ke Sāṃyā huṃ Tamārī re
Soḍīne huṃ Tamune Rāma Āṃī kem rahuṃ re".
Sītā is a shadow of Rāma, how can she stay here without him ?

2.6.1. *Rāmakathā of Dubaḷās* : During Diwāli days, the Dubaḷās dance 'Ghera' and sing Rāma-lores through songs, raas, bhajans, pawāḍās (sort of ballads of adventure) while carrying dāndīā (sticks), umbrella, handkerchief. The Lokashabdāvali describes Rāma's marriage with Sītā in the popular style of the Dubaḷās.

2.6.2. '*Āṇjaṇās*' are chorus songs wherein *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes appear. People of Banāskāṇṭhā (North Gujarat) recite the Āṇjaṇās wherein, events like Sītā's nursing plants, her kidnapping by Rāvaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa could kill Indrajit as the former observed celibacy for 12 years or Rāma's lamentation when Lakṣmaṇa swoons. The lines are :

(i) Rāmā Kema Muṃzāṇī Tārī Mati ? (Rāma, why are you perplexed—at Sītā's kidnapping ?).
(ii) "Rāma Lakṣmaṇa puchere, Lakṣmaṇa Bāḷā Jati Rāmahari" (Rāma asks Lakṣmaṇa; Lakṣmaṇa is a young recluse while Rāma is Hari).

Even in Saurāshtra, *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes find place in the "Shalokā" (verses) recited by farmer in the weddings.

2.6,3. *Dāṃgī Rāmāyaṇa* :

Dāṃgis of Baraḍipādā (Bulsar District) have the *Rāmāyaṇakathā* by Bhilukumāra Powāra, a Bhil youth for two nights and a day. Notes like violin are heard when hollow fists are moved on the stick standing on wax in a dish and there is rise and fall in tune with the reciter. He is supported by other Ādivāsī orally. Some Dāṃgīs who consider their forest as Daṇḍakāraṇya also recite Rāma-episodes. These recitals should be taped and videoed says Shri Jayantīlāla Dave (of Aḍalaja, Ahmedabad).[7]

2.7 (D) *The Story-tellers* :

Let us now turn to the narrators of *Rāmāyaṇa*-tales as a tradition. Late Śrī Manjulāla Majamudāra (of Baroda) says that with the decline of Sanskrit, native languages grew and the puranik literature appeared in these languages, whereas poets began to translate Sanskrit literature in order to bring it to those not knowing Sanskrit.[8]

---

7 To whom, I am obliged for this information.

8 Munśī K. M., (Gen. ed.), Gujarātī Sāhitya—Madhyakāḷano Sāhitya-pravāha, Prayojaka Sāhitya Saṃsada, pub. The Sāhitya Prakāśaka Company Ltd., Bombay, 1929, First ed., p. 400.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In Monsoons neighbouring people used to gather around some one who could read popular poems even in manuscript form. Naturally literature produced was rhythmic which served not for self-enjoyment but for entertainment of others. This made stories in verses more popular.[9]

Slowly a class who could narrate these versical stories grew, viz. Bhāṭas, Cāraṇas and Gaḍhavīs in Gujarat. The Bhāṭas recited ballads to enthuse the warriors, even episodes of *Rāmāyaṇa-Mahābhārata* found a place. These "Aural-oral" tradition of tales started with things like "There was a town and was there a king, too" and not like modern short stories where a mid-point of the event starts the tales. The style of narration was simple and straight-forward. The orator would be one with the sentiment of the topic both in sound and gestures, created empathy in the audience. This one-man show preserved cultural possessions of the people in the medieval times. In this list of narrators of to-day would appear the names of (1) Darabāraśrī Pūnjāwālā (Sāṇathalī) (2) Lākhābhāī Gaḍhavī (Jāṃbuḍā) (3) Lākhābhāī Gaḍhavī (Nānā) (Junāgarh) (4) Naṭubhāī Joshī (Gopālagām) (5) Śrī Rāmabhāī Rāmanāmawāḷā (6) Takhatadāna Rohaḍīā (Nāgeṣrī) (7) Poet Dāda (Dhunānā) (8) Piṅgaḷaśibhāī Gaḍhavī (Jāmanagar).[10]

2.7.1. Among these narrators of the *Rāmāyaṇa* 'Padmaśrī' Dulābhāī Kaaga stands out with his *Bhajans* compiled in his book '*Kaagawāṇī*' Part 1-4 including those like '*Rāvaṇanī Rājanīti*' (Rāvaṇ's statesmanship) '*Pāṃc Vāta Manamāṃ Rahī*' (Untold five stories) '*Rāvaṇano Patra*' (Rāvaṇa's letter) '*Rāmare Ruṇī Rākhyā*' (Rāma as a debter). Dulā Bhāyā's *Bhajan* "*Paga Mane Dhovā Dyo Raghurāi*" (let me wash your feet O! Rama!) is one of the outstanding *Bhajans* that attracted the hearts of people and saturated them with the sentiment of devotion. That *Bhajan* is known everywhere in Gujarat and most of the Narrators refer to it directly or in general. In this, Kevaṭa the boatman objects to allow Rāma to touch his boat lest, like Ahalyā, the boat would turn into a woman and he would be lost. So, he wants to wash Rāma's feet to avoid the boat turning into a woman. He does not charge for the ferry as Rāma also was a boatman to cross the ocean of life.

2.8 (E) *The Māṇabhaṭṭas*—present representative of this 'aural-oral' tradition is Śrī Dhārmikalāla Pandyā (Baroda) who inherited this Gujarat's unique tradition of Māṇabhatta from his father Śrī Cunilāla Vyāsa. As an expert-musician, Śrī Pandyā has presented programmes in U.K., U.S.A., on the Radio and the T.V. and has trained his son Pradyumna to carry on. A centre to train others free is organized at Baroda from 1980. Śrī Pandyā has received

---

9 Ibid, p. 451.

10 The list by Prof. Dr. Baḷavant Jānī, Saurashtra University, to whom I am indebted for the same.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

awards from Gujarat state Saṅgīta-Nṛtya Nāṭya Academy (1980), and also Govt. of India Saṅgīta Nāṭya Academy award (1983) as well as Vaḍodarā Municipal Corporation award (1984). He has composed '*Saṅgīta Bhāgawata*' '*Sangīta Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*'.

Śrī Pandyā presents before the public '*Akhyānas*' of Premānanda of Baroda (1636-1724 A.D.). An '*Akhyāna*' is a poem (or a prose-piece at times) that gives detailed oral narration as it is derived from Ā + khyā (telling from all sides). There may be a side-event, alongwith the main episode presented in an interesting style. As it is heard only, the narrator brings in imaginary additions, word-images and the like, with a rhythmical approach so that weakness of the topic is covered up.

As the topic is familiar one the narrator employs various events, character-sketch, gestures, dramatics to create empathy in the audience. The narrator takes liberty with the original topic bringing in social background of his time, delineation of human nature and such points of the social fabric.

Śrī Pandyā uses a '*Māṇa*' or a mud or copper pot or pitcher creating pleasant sound with the ring on his finger. He has presented "*Raṇayajña*" of Premānanda (1690 A.D.) wherein the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is at the centre. Just as in Yajña (a sacrificial ceremony), in Raṇayajña, too, the battle-pole is represented by the sacrificial pole, the altar represents the battle-field. The preceptor is Rāma, the sacrificer is Vibhīṣaṇa, the relative giving gifts is Hanumāna, the sticks represents the arrows, ghee is the Rākṣasas, the roots are the minister, sacrificial seeds are Rāvaṇa's sons, the offerings are in the form of Indrajita, fire is anger, the flames are Sītā, the wind is Lakṣmaṇa, coconut is Rāvaṇa's head, the result is the desire of God to end evil on the earth—this brings the ultimate purpose of Rāma's birth. Such is the allegory of the poet.

Premānanda has a slight modification in Rāvaṇa's portrait. Kumbhakarṇa taunts Rāvaṇa saying "how can he conquer Rāma when he cannot win Sītā?" Rāvaṇa states that he is reminded of mother on looking at Sītā. Then why not return her? He replies to Mandodarī, O beauty! I am not a fool, I have thought over. I want to die at the hands of Rāma as I am fed up with worldly attractions and Rāma as the supreme spirit has come here to kill me. This makes the villain indispensable.

These musical recitals-cum-narrations on 'Māṇa' with the finger rings was popular lasting over three months and there were many such narrators who received all kinds of gifts dropped in the pitcher, to support their life.

2.8.1. In addition, Amaradāsajī Khārāwāḷā (Amreli), Prof. Mādhavadāsa Khārāwāḷā (Amreli), Rāmakṛṣṇa Kunḍheliwālā (Choṭe Morārībāpu), Rameśa-bhāī Oza, late poet Karasandāsa Māṇeka (Bombay), Devendravijayajī (Bombay) all narrators-cum-reciters; All revered Valakubāpu (of Calālā), Śrī Amarābāpu

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(of Paḷiyāda), Sādhu Mādhavapriyadāsajī (of Swāmīnārāyaṇa Mandir, Rajkot) all these saints and even ex-prime minister Śrī Morārajī Desāī have preserved this oral tradition by their precious contribution.

2.8.2. In Bhavanagar we come across Bhānudāsa, Raghurāma Goṇḍaliā, Raghurāma Deśāṇī, Siārāma, Manchārāma, Kānti Laśkarī, Jivarāma and others who though not great narrators or reciters but read out Rāma-stories to the local population with the local touch to suit their taste. All these are backward class individual belonging to the sects of Sādhus or Bāvās.[11]

Literary Tradition :

3. Śrī Ramaṇalāla Desāi has rightly said " Some historical events turn into immortal ideals and nector-like imaginations which cultivate the culture of the people. Some of these images and ideals become real and turn into historical characters of a people. These become variegated from age to age and inspire cultural concepts. Our imagined portraits of Rāma, Sītā and Rāvaṇa through deals and history are turned into shapes suitable to the contemporary culture based on the trinity of historical and imagined characters. This is done by Vālmīki, Bhavabhūti, Tulasīdāsa and our Giradhara of Gujarat who drew on the portraits lying in the heart of all the Hindus.[12]

In oral tradition, an individual is important while the work is equally so in literary tradition. Hence information about the author is secondary in this Rāmāyaṇa tradition.

3.1. *Rāmāyāṇas—Rucirā Rāmāyaṇa :* Jagjivandāsa Modī : This literary man has produced a short Rāmāyaṇa in Rucirā verses banking on the *Rāmāyaṇas* by Vālmīki, Tulasī, Giradhara as well as *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa Yogavāsiṣṭha, Padmapurāṇa, Agnipurāṇa, Bhāgawata, Raghuvaṃśa, Hanumannāṭaka* and so on. The public is described as being harassed by giving measured food or passing night in fear in dark during Rāvaṇa's regime. Guha does not accept the boat-fare as Rāma also is a business-colleague stating " A barbar does not take money from another barbar, nor a washerman from another. I crossed you the river, you may my ocean of life ". As an eye of Jayanta was shot by Rāma, all the crows are one-eyed. The dog full of insects was relieved by Rāma and given a divine shape. The dog was formerly a preacher who did nothing but grab people's money, while washing feet, giving the beads, accepting request to go to the house of the devotee and the like. There is reflection of the then society.

3.2. *Punita-Rāmāyaṇa :* Punita Sevāpeeṭha of Ahmedabad, that undertakes religious and social activities and publishes ' Janakalyāṇa ' a religious

---

11 The list by Śrī Khoḍidāsa Paramāra, whom I am indebted for the same.

12 Cāvaḍā Kiśansiṃha, 'Dharatīnī Putrī', pub. Tārācanda Ravāṇī, Ahmedabad, 1955, Second ed., Introduction ' Virāṭa Aśruchoḷa ' by Ramaṇalala Desāī.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

magazine was founded by Śrī Punita Mahārāja who was primarily a reciter of prayers (Bhajan) and giving his observations in a lecture form from village to village. His *Punita-Rāmāyaṇa* composed between 1950-1959 is based on *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Devī Bhāgawata, Bhaktamāla's commentary* by Priyadāsa, folk-lores and *Giradhara-Rāmāyaṇa.* The prayer-songs, 1500 strong, are his compositions while *Lavakuśakāṇḍa* is not touched as redundant.

This prose-cum-verse creation deals with Daśaratha-Kauśalyā marriage with a little change in *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa.* Rāvaṇa wants tax from Daśaratha who asks him to open the portals of his city with his bare hands. On failing, Rāvaṇa propitiates Brahmā and asks the boon that Daśaratha should have no progeny of his own. Brahmā is perplexed while giving the boon. Rāvaṇa attacks Kauśalpura Kidnaps Kauśalyā and hands her over to a fish. While he was away home, Brahmā asks for Kauśalyā in Rāvaṇa's disguise puts her in a box whose weeping is heard by Sumantra, Daśaratha's minister who takes her to her father's. Her father comes to know about Daśaratha and offers her in marriage.

Two events of Rāma's childhood are original of the writer. While the four brothers were enjoying a monkey-show by a juggler, Rāma wanted that juggler's monkey (a juggler's monkeys are usually named Nāthio and Ratanḍośī in Gujarat). Vasiṣṭha fetches for Hanumāna from Pampāpura while Rāma refuses to have any other monkey. Thus Hanumāna becomes a peer of Rāma as a child.

Rāma's kite flies to Indraloka where Indra's daughter-in-law seizes it. She wants to see the owner who must be handsome as the kite. Rāma offers to see her in citrakūṭa and regains the kite through Hanumāna.

Śabarī's episode is based on a legend. She was a brahmin woman while in menses, she offers food to God whereupon her husband cursed her to be born in 'Bhīla' family and to be redeemed on serving a Saint. At her marriage, her father arranged for a feast of sheep and goats whereupon she left her father's house and went to Pampā-lake as her impressions of the past brahmin-birth came in the way of killing beasts.

Sītā's eating "Kheera" (a milk-dish) offered by Indra in Aśokavāṭikā is from *Devībhāgawata, Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* : Pampā's waters became clean on Śabarī's putting her feet in it is supported by Priyadāsa's commentary on *Bhaktamāla.*

'Jīva-tara' is 'life' but is interpreted as 'crossing the sea of life' following the popular derivation.

"Who is great, the devotee or the deity ? (*Bhakto Maṭā Ke pachi Moṭā Bhagawāna Che* ?) is among the prayer-songs.

Social customs of Gujarat, Viz, pulling nose, welcoming with rice-grains, offering gifts are mentioned in Rāma-Sītā nuptials.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

3.3. *Interpretations-Abhinava Rāmāyaṇa* by *Santabāla*—a Gāndhian follower gives Gāndhian touch to his views.

Sāma (conciliation), *Dāma* (money), *Daṇḍa* (punishment), '*Bheda*' (intrigue) the four foundations of diplomacy are taken as interestedness (*Sāma*) or contact with the people, *Dāma* is offering good wages to the employees on one hand and taxing people within capacity, *Daṇḍa* is to create a situation wherein mischief mongers seek to improve their habits through repentance and '*Bheda*' would mean separating so some of the wicked ones from others and giving them a chance to come round.

Just as Gāndhiji did not accept position in the government after independence, Rāma, when told by Vasiṣṭha about Daśaratha's desire to offer him kingship, opines that such persons who are popular be kept away. Kaikeyī is pleased when Vasiṣṭha asks Rāma to accept kingship when he was in the forest. Is a man alway evil ? Do not hate the person but his evil ways.

Bharat's running the state on behalf of Rāma shows the concept of Trusteeship.

Vasiṣṭha feels forest-dwellers to be more tender-hearted than citizens for they labour for us.

Rāma puts Vālī's head on his lap for he was against the latter's deeds only.

Kuśa prefers death in a battle to non-violence of a coward.

3.4. *Rāmāyaṇa-Darśana*—Iśvara Peṭalīkara as a novelist, story-writer and social worker, has tried to show the conflict between Ārya and Ānarya civilizations in Rāma and Rāvaṇa and to their joining hands for the future. For him, Mahādeva Desāī's attitude to Gāndhījī as his secretary is the concept of surrender of Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata which does not destroy but develop personality. He compares Rāvaṇa's pride of the Dravida civilization, not allowing Āryan culture to penetrate is akin to the struggle of the congress and the Muslim league before independence. Rāma's going to the South is compared to Gāndhījī's return to India from South Africa.

Gāndhījī spread the activities to the common man just as Rāma stayed in the jungle as a hermit by living forest-life and winning hearts, which Agastya though first to go to South could not do. At the time of abandoning Sītā, Rāma discusses Royal Duty and duty to the beloved just as Edward Eighth did for love. Rāma's not marrying another woman shows his love for Sītā.

3.5. *Rāmāyaṇa nī Antarayātrā* by *Naginadāsa Sanghavī*. In 1985 '*Rāmāyaṇa-nī-Rāmāyaṇa*' was published in weekly editions of '*Samakālīna*' (Bombay), '*Lokasattā*' (Baroda), '*Janasattā*' (Ahmedabad) wherein he wants to present the original story in its' true form and depends on *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. The writer feels that narrators, publishers, preachers and others depend on spurious texts as

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the texts of *Rāmāyaṇa* based on research are not in vogue. His views leading to controversies are as under :

(A) That Rāvaṇa could not molest Sītā was not due to curse-stories as the first curse would kill him.

(B) It is poetic parodox to say that Kabandha (a horror-film character) traced Rāvaṇa's track.

(C) The episodes of Ahalyā, Śravaṇa, Śabarī have nothing to do with the main stream as 'Śravana's episode may lead to Daśaratha's separation from sons, farfetchedly but Ahalyā-Śabarī have nothing to do with Rāma's exploits.

(D) Sanskrit commentators have shown fruit as the food of Rāma and sages instead of meat and wine. This is rhapsody of language.

(E) There never were class-divisions of the Hindus, not stages of life in any historical society and the Smṛties lay down ideals only.

(F) Killing Vālī, burning Sītā, rejecting Sītā, killing Śambūka darken Rāma's character.

(G) Kaikeyi's describing Mantharā's beauty and limbs reflects her lesbianism (p. 184).

(H) Vālmīki's Hanumāna is not a celibate as Bharata offers him 16 maidens for the good news (yaddha—Ch. 185, V. 44).

(I) Māṇḍavi's plight is worse than Urmilā's as Bharata though near her lives as an ascetic.

(J) Rāmāyaṇa is a Royal Story with emphasis on war.

(K) Rāma and citizens get lost in the Sarayu. This is collective suicide.

(L) Hanumān's burning Laṅkā and harassing the people cannot be praised.

(M) Vālmīki was ignorant of ideal government. As a supporter of kingship his description of an ideal administration is fully exaggerative.

(N) Daśaratha's readiness to kill anyone or plunder the rich to please the queen is anarchic.

(O) It was cruel that no one cared for maintenance, children's education, illness of Sītā when abandoned. How can the rule be ideal where an innocent woman and children are thrown in a forest ? (p. 343).

The writer has quoted from *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and given an authentic shape but there is no congruence in his views though worth thinking. According to the writer Vālmīki shows skill as a poet for children while describing Sugrīva's peers. The mixing of human and super-human elements is welcome to children. Rāma's caricature while observing Sītā's departure shows Vālmīki's poetic excellence.

(Cont.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ECOLOGY, TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC AFGHANISTAN

By

V. C. SRIVASTAVA*

Afghanistan which was an 'archaeological blank' till the forties (Piggott, 1950, p. 54) has emerged as 'an extremely valuable archaeological resource' (Davis in Srivastava, 1982, p. VII) for the reconstruction of an outline of the prehistoric map, during the last three decades. From the possibility of making 'a preliminary inventory' in 1973 (Dupree, 1973, p. 256) the prehistorians realised in 1976 that 'the prehistoric record in Afghanistan holds many surprises, new problems as well as answers to old questions' (Shaffer, 1976, p. 77) and they asserted in 1978 that 'for the first times there is more cheese than holes' (Allchin and Hammond, 1978, p. I). It was argued in 1982 that 'the inauguration of the prehistory of Afghanistan is a momentous event not only for Afghanistan but for the whole region' (Srivastava, 1982, p. X). No doubt, the prehistoric record in Afghanistan is still sparse, inadequate and incomplete as most of the sites are not excavated and the finds are mostly surface collections. No Palaeo-climatic studies have been undertaken in Afghanistan so far and no problem—oriented study on interdisciplinary basis has been done so far. C-14 dates are very few and for the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic such datings are inadequate. It is admitted that prehistoric research in Afghanistan is still limited with many glaring problems, gaps and lacunas (Srivastava, 1986) but even then some tentative outline of cultural evolution in the prehistoric times in Afghanistan has to be attempted.

Afghanistan appears to have witnessed significant changes in the ecology, technology and the socio-cultural system during the Middle Palaeolithic (Allchin and Hammond, 1978) which had repercussions on the subsequent development of culture in Afghanistan. The interaction between man and environment, the development in technology and consequent socio-cultural transformations in the Middle Palaeolithic Afghanistan forms the theme of this paper.

The Middle Palaeolithic is better documented than the Lower Palaeolithic in Afghanistan. For the Lower Palaeolithic has one doubtful site at Dasht-i-Nawur (Srivastava, 1982) the Middle Palaeolithic is claimed to be revealed by

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept. - December, 1987 issue, pp. 143-152.

* Deptt. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

eleven sites. (Ball, 1982, p. 373). Darra-i Chakmakh (Balkh provinco) has given us many flint core tools and flake tools of this tradition. It is a surface site which has been dated 50-30000 B.C. on lithic grounds. It is an open-air valley floor site (Dupree and Howe, 1963). Darra-i-Dadil (Balkh province) is similarly a surface site which has given from the open valley floor tens of thousands of flints. Of the 256 studied, 125 clearly appear to be manmade. They include cores, cleavers, five types of flakes, and scrapers. The chronological bracket assigned to it is the same as in the case of Darra-i Chakmakh on the ground of lithic typology. Typologically they appear to be early and bear no relationship with the Kara Kamar material (Dupree and Howe, 1963). Darra-i-Kur (Badakhshan province) is a rock-shelter which is an excavated site with 800 tools which included Middle Palaeolithic tools. The Middle Palaeolithic Darra-i Kur has been C-14 dated (Dupree and Davis, 1972). Dasht-i-Nawur (Ghazni province) is an open air lake beach site which has been explored. From the lower terraces on the north Middle palaeolithic tools such as Levallois flakes, side and round scrapers, points and possible burins have been collected. (Dupree and Davis, 1976). In view of its similarities with the Darra-i Kur industry the time bracket is the same as for the Darra-i Kur. (Ball, 1982, I. p. 86). Ghar-I Morden Gusfand (Faryab province) is a rock shelter which has given Levallois points, naturally baked knife, transverse scrapers, notched flakes, flake blade and large cleavers of siliceous, limestone. It has also been given the same time span (50-30000 B.C.) as in other sites on lithic typology. (Dupree, Lattman and Davis, 1970). Hairatan (or Airatan) (Samangan province) is an open air surface site in the dunes from where scatters of Mousterian and Mesolithic stone tools have been recovered (Vinogradov, 1979), Ball, 1982, No. 408). Its chronological bracket is younger as it has been dated between 30-10000 B.C. (Ball, 1982, I. p. ii 9). Kara Kamar (Samangan province) is a rock shelter. Of the four cultural levels (typologically) II and IV were assigned to the Middle Palaeolithic. (Coon and Coulter, 1955). The chronological bracket is 32-28000 B.C. (Coon and Ralph 1955). Kishm (Badakhshan Province) is a rockshelter site on eminence (MC Burney,1971) and has little material. Its time bracket is 50-30000 B.C. on lithic grounds (Ball, 1982, I. p. i64). Sar-i-Namak (Samangan province) is a surface site in the dunes with a wider scatter of Mousterian and Mesolithic artifacts (Vinogradov) whose time bracket is 30-10000 B.C Zambukan (Balkh province) has accidental discovery of a Mousterian Flake tool (Allchin, 1953) similar to Teshik Tashl material. Hazar Sum is claimed to have Levalloisian tools.

Of these sites only Darra-i-Kur appears to be definitely Middle Palaeolithic (Davis in Allchin and Hammond, 1978, p. 45) while the claim of the Middle Palaeolithic for other sites listed above is either incorrect or doubtful. Kara Kamar II and IV do not appear to belong to this tradition as may be verified

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

from Kabul Museum exhibits. Ghar-i-Mordeh Gusfand was subjected to the excavation in 1970 again which has cast a reasonable doubt on its being a Middle Palaeolithic site. (Davis in Allchin and Hammond, 1978, p. 43). The stratigraphic position does not warrant 'sufficient antiquity for an early Wurm occupation.' (Davis in Allchin and Hammond, 1978, p. 44). There is absence of stratigraphic position in respect of Hazar Sum which makes the identification of cultural facies uncertain. Moreover, the so-called Levalloisian technique in the tools of Hazar Sum has been discredited by a recent analysis of the material (Mussi, 1979). Darra-i-Chakmakh and Darra-i-Dadil have, of course, Levalloisian tools but they being surface collections have less significance than those found from excavated site like Darra-i-Kur. Zambukan has only one tool which has been discovered accidently from the surface. Kishm has very little material. Hairatan and Sar-i-Namak are later than the Middle Palaeolithic though typologically they have a few Levalloisian tools. The stratigraphic position of Dasht-i-Nawur is not known and further survey of the site did not substantiate the presence of Lower and Middle Palaeolithic at this site. (Davis in Allochin and Hammond, 1978, p. 70). In view of the above it may be safely said that Darra-i-Kur is the only scientific evidence for the Middle Palaeolithic in Afghanistan, though some probable inferences may be drawn from limited evidences for tool typology at Darra-i-Dadil, Darra-i-Chakmakh, Kishm, Hairatan, Sar-i-Namak and Kishm.

The Ecology

No work has been done so far on Palae-ecology and climatic change in the Quaternary period in Afghanistan (Srivastava, 1982, p. 30) but some inferences have been drawn on the basis of analogies from neighbouring regions (Sophia R. Bowlby in Allchin and Hammond, 1978). The Middle Palaeolithic has been identified with early Wurm in Afghanistan (Davis in Allchin and Hammond, 1978, p. 41). It has been suggested that the Middle Palaeolithic environment was different from that of the Lower Palaeolithic in the sense that it changed towards the better. During the early Wurm in the Upper Pleistocene, Afghanistan appears to have witnessed a change in the climate. The harsh and severe cold of the earlier phase during the Middle Pleistocene gave way to slightly warmer climate throughout Afghanistan. Northern Afghanistan from where the Middle Palaeolithic sites have been discovered (with the exception of Dasht-i-Nawur) must have been as dry as at present but due to less evaporation it must have been humid and therefore, conducive to vegetation and grasses. Southern Afghanistan must have witnessed higher and more effective rainfall giving rise to forests while the Lowland areas must have been cooler than today (Davis in Allchin and Hammond, 1978, pp. 49 ff). This change in climate appears to have been responsible for decrease in the number of big games and comparative

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

increase in the number of smaller games like goat, sheep and bovids as is found at Darra-i-Kur.

The faunal evidence from Darra-i-Kur Middle Palaeolithic level is of sheep (*Ovis orientalis*), goat (*capra hircus*) and large bovid (cattle-*Bos primigenius*). It has been suggested that the Middle Palaeolithic hunters in Afghanistan, Iranian Plateau and the Turfan Lowland concentrated on modern animals like sheep, goat, onager (*equus hemionus*), aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) and *gazella subgutturosa*). (Davis, in Allchin and Hammond 1978, p. 43). But such inference does not appear to be correct because there is no evidence for onager, red deer and gazella from the Middle Palaeolithic level at Darra-i-Kur though such evidence has been found from the later levels of the Late Goat Cult Neolithic at Darra-i-Kur (Srivastava, 1982, p. 225).

No floral evidence has been found from the Middle Palaeolithic levels in Afghanistan so far but the change in the climate must have resulted in the growth of vegetation and grasslands on the foothills and plains and forests on the mountains.

There is evidence of the appearance of a developed species of man during this phase. Darra-i-Kur has given us a Middle Palaeolithic temporal bone which fits into a partly Neanderthal population like the Es-Skhul cave specimens from Mt. Carmel as well as into a modern Homo-Sapiens (Angel in Dupree, 1972, pp. 54-56).

More data are needed in terms of new discoveries of flora and fauna from the early Wurm levels for a scientific study of ecology. Recent work on loess deposits in Soviet Central Asia has great relevance for Afganistan also as Tazikistan and northern Afganistan have similar loess deposits which are of great antiquity. (Ranov and Davis, 1979). However two revolutionary developments—change in environment and the appearance of a developed variety of man in the Middle Palaeolithic Afghanistan must have resulted in the improvement in technology and transformations in the socio-cultural system.

The Technology

There is definite evidence of Levalloisian technique in the form of Levallois blade core but the predominant flaking technique was discoidal. Darra-i-Kur Middle Palaeolithic tool types include Levallois flakes, debitage, hand-axe type, scrapers of several varieties, blade-burin types and Levallois points. All of them appear to belong to the Mousterian tradition (Dupree and Davis, 1972, p. 30) but Davis (1978, p. 41) rightly cautions us to avoid the term—*Mousterian* because there is no genetic relationship between Darra-i-Kur and Mousterian site in France. In view of the paucity of data for the Lower Palaeolithic and absence of any data for the relationship between the Lower and the Middle

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Palaeolithic, it is not possible to attribute any authochthonous development in our present state of knowledge. However, there is no evidence to prove the theory of diffusionism. However, it is desirable to analyse the tool technology first and thereafter discuss the role of Afghanistan in this cultural change.

Flake type included amorphous flake cores, Levallois flakes, and many smaller flakes struck from Levallois cores with pronounced bulb of percussion which is generally positioned obliquely on one side. (Srivastava, 1982, p. ii5-120, figs. 70-72). Hand-axe type consists of tools rough ovoid in shape generally broken in tips (Srivastava, 1982, fig. 73). Scrapers are of two varieties—side scrapers and oblique scrapers (Srivastava, 1982, figs. 74). Points are of following varieties—crude triangular Levallois points, leaf-shaped points and retouched oblique points (Srivastava, 1982, figs. 75-77). A few notched flakes and flake-blades (Srivastava, 1982, fig. 78) are also found. Blade-burin types included one possible burin of the straight dihedral type, a blade with a scar, retouched blades and core-rejuvenating flakes (Srivastava, 1982, figs. 79-82). A large fabricator with both ends extensively utilized has been reported whose function appears to be the manufacture of stone tools (Srivastava, 1982, fig. 83). Zambukan (Balkh) has given us only one flake tool whose surface forms a right angle with the striking platform which is broadly faceted. It has a typical Mousterian retouch on the distal end and on the edge. The tool is highly patinated on the upper surface and has no sign of rolling. It may be compared with Middle Palaeolithic flake tools of Teshik Tash (F. R. Allchin, 1954). Darra-i-Dadil tool kit includes core, cleavers, flakes, (possibly used as end scrapers), flakes used as concave edged side-scrapers, flakes with sinuous edges, flakes used as steep-edged scrapers, flakes with steep, alternate opposite edge flaking, other possibly utilized flakes and many other varieties. The Darra-i-Dadil collection appears to have a Pre-Aurignacian flavour and is comparable with Central Asian developed Mousterian of Movius (Dupree and Howe, 1963). Kishm Middle Palaeolithic technology has an exceptionally developed lamellar content. It has been suggested that this industry has no similarity with those of Wurmian date in the Tashkent region but some resemblance may be seen in the industry of Ust Kaskaya (Siberia) in the Central Altai range. (Mcburney, 1972). The Middle Palaeolithic industry at Dasht-i-Nawur includes Levallois flakes, side and round scrapers, points and possibly burins (engravers) (Dupree 1975).

The technology of this culture is definitely improved than that of the Lower Palaeolithic in two senses. Firstly, the tools are better made, e.g. discoidal cores are better struck. Secondly, there is some of art also beside craftmanship in the making of the tools. Such aesthetic sense may be perceived in such tools as leaf shaped point (Srivastava, 1982, Fig. 76) and core of retouching flake at Darra-i-Kur (Srivastava 1982, fig. 82).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In marked contrast to the quartzite material of the Lower Palaeolithic at Dasht-i-Nawur the material generally used is a variety of basalt (Davis, 1978, p. 42). To generalise the technology employed at this stage was Levalloisian with predominant discoidal flaking. Multiple platform cores have a very high percentage of blades which differ considerably from the Upper Palaeolithic blades. Irregularly or partially retouched tools are too frequent while side-scrapers are rare and there is absence of handaxes. The technology is improved one in comparison to earlier tradition.

The Socio-Cultural Change

In view of the paucity of material for the earlier Lower Palaeolithic in Afghanistan the question of socio-cultural change may be inferred on the basis of analogy from neighbouring region and these may be purely guessed to be completely revised, or rejected or confirmed in future when more data are available. One basic fact that emerges from the presence of definite Middle Palaeolithic industry at Darra-i-Kur and probable Middle Palaeolithic at other sites as well as the discovery of the improved homonid temporal bone at Darra-i-Kur is that Afghanistan must have been exploited by the Middle Palaeolithic people during the early Wurm period. The external evidence also supports this hypothesis as there are well documented Middle Palaeolithic cultures in the neighbouring areas such as Iran-Iraq, Soviet Central Asia and Indian sub-continent. (Srivastava, 1982, p. 194, fn. 51).

The chronological bracket for the Middle Palaeolithic may be fixed from 45000-35000 B.C.—a time span which fits in with the period of the Middle Palaeolithic in other areas. (Sankalia, 1974, p. 205). The date is based upon one C-14 date from Darra-i-Kur and the tool-typology (Srivastava, 1982, p. 194).

The economy at this stage appears to be the same as of the earlier culture i.e. hunting and gathering but the change may be perceived in the exploitation of a selective species of animals, which is born out of a definite improvement in man-environment adaptation. This selective hunting of small animals—goat, sheep and cattle of wild variety which were eventually domesticated in latter times in Afghanistan—may be regarded as a significant change within the continued tradition of hunting. The specialization in hunting economy was facilated by an improvement in the tool-technology as is evidenced by the discoidal flaking technique as well as by the Levalloisian technique of blade cores at Darra-i-Kur. The emergence of a developed human species during this period as is evidence by the hominid temporal bone at Darra-i-Kur may also be associated with the improvement in the tool-technology. (Davis, 1978, p. 43 and Srivastava, 1982, p. 195). The presence of scrapers in large number of improved variety coupled with the cold climate of period suggests a strong possibility of some sort of skin-clothing during this period (Clark and Piggott, 1965,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

p. 61). Another change within the gathering economy must have been in the increase of the gathering and collecting economy due to the increase in vegetations and for comparative relief from the hard life of hunting of big games due to the specialization of small games-hunting.

Caves and rock shelters provided natural temporary habitat to man during this period as is evidenced by Darra-i-Kur rock-shelter. However open-air valleys have also given us evidence of habitat during this period as is the case with Darra-i-Dadil and Darra-i-Chakmakh, Dasht-i-Nawur, Hairatan and Sara-i-Namak. Kishm is again a rock-shelter. There is no definite evidence whether the social order of the Middle Palaeolithic was of horde without the family or tribe (Enmenko, 1953), of pre-tribe type with family and superfamilial organization of isomorphic tradition (Griegorov, 1968), as it has been debated in the case of the Middle Palaeolithic of Soviet Central Asia. It has also been argued that the Mousterian population had a single widespread population without internal segmentation (Formozov, 1977). For Afghanistan Middle Palaeolithic the only inference, that too absolutely tentative, that may be drawn from the limited size of the cave or rock-shelter such as at Darra-i Kur is that this must have put a limit on the size of the social group living at one cave and it must have resulted in some sort of individualization and segmentation of the small social group. Habitat was a temporary one as the man was still in the nomadic stage roaming about at long distances in search of his special games. In our present stage of knowledge, it is practically impossible to infer about the ideology of the Middle Palaeolithic man in Afghanistan. It is common knowledge that some sort of spirituality has been envisaged for the Neanderthal peoples of Europe and other regions and the Middle Palaeolithic of Afghanistan has some Neanderthal trait in the population as is evidenced by the temporal bone at Darra-i-Kur, it would be too presumtuous to impose this feature on the Middle Palaeolithic culture of Afghanistan in the absence of any trace of a ritual for the dead.

The Cultural zone of the Middle Palaeolithic is a very wide area extending from Western Europe through Western and Central Asia to South Asia. Afghanistan occupies a central position in this zone. This tempts us to speculate about the role of Afghanistan in the evolution or diffusion of this culture. Inspite of the caution to avoid the term *Mousterian* (Davis, 1978) we find most of the tool types of the Middle Palaeolithic at Darra-i-Kur with minor variations in the Middle Palaeolithic of Western Europe (Dupre, 1973, p. 264). In both areas the tools have been found from caves as well as open-air sites. Similar situations exist in Western Asia such as at Mt. Carmel, Es-Skhul, Yabrud, Zerf Azla, Shanidar etc. Thus Middle Palaeolithic of Afghanistan has affinities with those of Western Europe and Western Asia. The affinity with the Western Asian tradition is more pronounced because of three elements :—Similar tool complex with Levalloisian technique has been found from both the areas, the stage of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

development of man in both areas is similar i.e. a transitional stage between the Neanderthal and the Homo-Sapien, and lastly habitat in both areas is cave or rock-shelter predominantly. No doubt, Middle Palaeolithic is well documented from Soviet Central Asia (Davis, 1979, Gupta, 1979) but there are many varieties of it here and it appears to have continued later that elsewhere and passed into the Upper Palaeolithic and as such cannot be compared with the Middle Palaeolithic of Afghanistan. The Middle Palaeolithic with discoidal core and true or partial Levalloisian technique has been reported from Pakistan such as Sanghao (Dani, 1964) and India (Sankalia, 1974, pp. i43-i95) and they have some technological similarity with the Afghan material but the difference may be seen in the nature of the habitat. In India the habitat of the Middle Palaeolithic is mostly open-air site (Sankalia, 1974). It is also doubtful whether true or full Levalloisian technique was ever employed in the Indian Middle Palaeolithic, though it has been claimed recently (Sharma. 1981) that true Levalloisian technique was employed at Son Valley. It was suggested (Dani, 1964, pp. i-50 and Sankalia, 1974, p. 197) that the Middle Palaeolithic is genetically connected with that of Afghanistan and Western Asia, but this cannot be proved in our present state of knowledge. As compared to Western Europe and Western Asia, Afghan Palaeolithic may be younger (Srivastava, 1982, p. i99); but in view of only one date no positive thesis should be evolved on the basis of too loose chronology about the origin of the culture. It appears that there were more than one centre for the origin of cultural complexes and as such Afghanistan may be one such independent centre for the origin of the Middle Palaeolithic culture which was also a part of the bigger zone of the Middle Palaeolithic from Western Asia to South-Asia.

To recapitulate, the Middle Palaeolithic of Afghanistan shows definite trends towards progress in terms of the development of man towards the Homo Sapien stage, tool technology which shows improved Levaloisian and discoidal flaking which shows not only skilled craftsmanship but also artistry. They adjusted well to the improved environment and have adapted specialized hunting of selective species of goat, cattle and sheep. In this process, they appear to have experienced and learnt the psychology and pattern of behaviour of these animals. It was the first undiscerned step towards the future revolutionary development of the domestication of animals of subsequent times. The progressive trend may be seen in the habitat which was at this time predominantly cave or rock-shelter which was definitely better than the hazardous open-air sites of earl er times. The progressive trend again may be seen in the making of a skin-clothing during this age. The density of population in Middle Palaeolithic Afghanistan seems to have been lower than that of Western Europe or Levant due to the combination of aridity and consequent low biomass (Davis, 1978,). The social groups were also being limited and indiviliduazed due to the limited

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

nature of the habitat. The sense of beauty in the tools is reflective of some leisure that Middle Palaeolithic man got due to the improvement in the environment and developed stage of man and tools. Thus the man appears to have been on his way towards the formation of rudimentary familial and superfamilial social organization which may be the embroyonic stage of Service's (1962) 'bands'—a pre-tribe stage. In this stage specialization and individualization of social and cultural groups were emerging as factors of socio-cultural change in which technology, environment and developed man interacted upon each other and played significant role.

References

Allchin, F. R., 1954 "A Flake Tool from the Oxus," *Proc. of Prehistoric Society*, Vol. 19, pt. 2, Cambridge, p. 227

Allchin, F. R., and Hammond, N. ed 1978 *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, Academic Press, London

Angel, J. L., 1972 "A Middle Palaeolithic Temporal Bone from Darra-i-Kur, Afghanistan", in *Prehistoric Research in Afghanistan* (1959-66), ed. L. Dupree, pp. 54-56, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 62, Pt. 4, Philadelphia, rep. *Afghanistan*, Vol. 28(2), Kabul, pp. 20-24

Ball, W. with Gardin, J. C. 1982 *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*, Paris, Vol. I and II

Bowlby, Sophia R. "The Geographical Background", in Allchin and Hammond, *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, London, 1978, pp. 9-36

Clark, J. G. D. and Piggott, S. 1965 *The Prehistoric Societies*,

Coon, C. S. 1957 *The Seven Caves*, New York

Coon, C. S. and Ralph E. K. 1955 "Radio-Carbon Dates from Kara Kamar, Afghanistan", *Science*, 122 (3172), pp. 921-22

Coon, C. S. and Coulter, H. W., 1960 "Excavations of the Kamar Rock-Shelter, A Preliminary Report", *Afghanistan*, Vol. X, No. 1, Kabul

Davis, R. S. 1978 "The Palaeolithic" in Allchin and Hammond, *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, London, pp. 37-70
1982 Foreword in Srivastava, *The Prehistoric-Afghanistan : A Source Book*, Allahabad pp. VII-VIII

Dani, A. H., 1964 Sanghao Cave "Excavation", *Ancient Pakistan*, Pershawar, pp. i-54

Dupree, L. 1973 *Afghanistan*, Princeton, 1975; *Afghanistan Journal*, Graz, II (3), pp. 105-107

Dupree, L. and Howe, B., 1963 "Results for an Archaeological Survey for Stone Age Sites in Afghanistan," *Afghanistan*, Vol. 18 (2) Kabul, pp. i-i5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Dupree Lattman, L., and Davis, R. S., 1970 " Ghar-i-Mordeh Gusfand (Cave of the Dead Sheep) : A New Mousterian Locality in Northern Afghanistan " *Science*, Vol. 167, Washington, pp. 1610-1612

Dupree, L. and Davis, R. S., 1972 " The Lithic and Bone Specimens from Aq Kupruk and Darra-i-Kur. " *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 62 (4) pp. 33-42, rep. *Afghanistan*, 26 (4) 1976 " New Prehistoric Localities in the Dasht-i-Nawur, " *Afghanistan*, Vol. 129 (3 , Kabul, pp. 13-37

Epmenko, P. P., 1953 *Pervobyioye obshehestvo* (Primitive Society Kiev, Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR.

Forozov, A. A., 1977 *Problemy etnokulturony iśtorii kamennogo veka na territorii evropeyskoy chasti SSR* (Problems of Ethnocultural History of the Stone Age of the European part of the USSR Moscow : Nauka

Brigorev, G. P., 1968 *Nachalo verkinego palolita proviskhozden Homo Sapiens* (The beginning of the Upper Palaeolithic and the Origin of Homo Sapien Leningrad : Nauka

Gupta, S. P., 1979 *The Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia and the Indian Borderlands*, Vol. I, New Delhi

Mcburney, C. B. M., 1972 " Report of an Archaeological Survey in Northern Afghanistan, ' July-August, 1971, *Afghanistan*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Kabul, pp. 22-32

Mussi, M. 1979 " Darra-i-Kalon Rock Shelter (Northern Afghanistan) " *East and West*, n.s., Vol. 29 (1-4), 189-220

Piggott, S. 1950 *Prehistoric India*, Harmondsworth

Ranov, V. A., and Davis, R. S. 1979 " Towards a New Outline of the Soviet Central Asian Palaeolithic ", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 249-270

Sankalia, H. D. 1974 *Prehistory and Protohistory af India and Paktstan*, Poona

Service, E. R. 1962 *Primitive Social Organization*, London

Shaffer, Jim, G. 1976 " Neolithic-Bronze Age Afghanistan ", *Afghanistan* Vol. 29(3), Kabul, pp. 73-83

Sharma, G. R., 1981 " From Hunting and Food-gathering to Domestication of Plants and animals ", *History and Archaeology*, Vol. 1, Allahabad

Srivastava, V. C. 1982 *The Prehistoric Afghanistan : A Source Book*, Allahabad 1986 " Problems and Perspectives in Prehistoric Research in Afghanistan ", *B. P. Sinha Felicitation Volume*, New Delhi

Vinogradov, A. V. 1979 " Issledovaniya pamyatnikov kammenogo veka v Severnom Afghanistane ", in *Drevnyaya Baktriya*, Vol. 2. ed. I. T. Kruglikova, Moscow, pp. 7-62

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

A UNIQUE SCULPTURE OF MAHAVIRA IN BIRLA MUSEUM

By

G. V. Ramakrishna Rao

Introduction

The Museum section of the Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute (BACRI), Hyderabad has a fairly good collection of stone sculptures of gods and goddesses belonging to different religions displayed in separate galleries.[1] Of these, some of them are Jaina sculptures and they afford an interesting study. Out of fifteen sculptures, some are broken. However, some of them could be identified as Mahāvīra, Gomateśvara, Chouvīsa tīrthankaras, Supārśvanātha etc. All the above sculptures in the Museum were collected from different regions in Andhra Pradesh. Among these, most important is that of a seated figure with nine similar figures, smaller in size described around the '*prabhāvali*'. Below the seat of the main figure, there is a niche in which a lion was shown with raised up paw. Evidently it is the lāñchana of the 24th Jaina *tīrthankara* '*Mahāvīra*'. This sculpture was published earlier by Dr. M. L. Nigam[2] who identified it as Mahāvīra, but he has not discussed in detail about the iconography and dating.

The Andhra Pradesh is noted for its sculptural traditions from times immemorial, mainly because of its historical and political importance. It is economically rich as it is fertile and flooded by the two main rivers, the Krishna and the Godavari. Consequently it was the home of trade and rich traders settled in this region. Along with trade came the religious missionaries into the Costal Andhra and Telangana. With the patronage of local kings and chieftains, the new religions had made deeper impact among the masses.

The Sculpture and its Provenance

The Mahāvīra with nine *tīrthankaras* mentioned above was found in the village Ingurthi (Lat. 17° 41′ N; 79° 46′ E)[3] coming under recently formed division of Nekkonda Mandalam in Warangal District of Andhra Pradesh. The village is situated at a distance of 29 kms. from North-east of Mahabubabad

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept. December, 1987 issue, pp. 153-156.

1 The Birla Museum (BACRI) has also other galleries housing Buddhist, Śaivite, Sūrya, Devī and Vaiṣṇavite Sculptures.

2 Dr. Nigam, M. L. : *A Hand book of Sculptures*, BACRI, Hyderabad, 1972, p. 17, Pl. XIV.

3 *A.P. District Gazetter*, Warangal, 1976, p. 209.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

and 12 kms. from the Desamudram Railway Station on the Vijayawada-Kazipet Section of the South Central Railway. The Sculpture is carved in black granite. It measures 140 × 91 × 46 cms. and it is an oblong stela rounded on the top.

Iconographic Details

It is a seated figure of Mahāvīra with nine *tīrthankaras* in the niches around. The soles of the feet are turned to a side. The hands are placed in '*dhyānamudrā*'. The folds over the neck are realistic. The ears are long drawn touching the shoulders. The nose is disfigured. His eyes are closed and the chin is roundish. The hair is arranged in short curls. All these indicate that the sculpture in question has '*mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas*'. The usual '*śrīvatsa*' symbol on the chest is not seen either in the main figure or those in the niches. Below his seat, the Lion *lāñchana* is seen in niche. Its tail is raised and twisted but hangs loose at the end (Plate I).

The *tīrthankaras* depicted in the *prabhāvali* around the main figure could be identified from the indicative motifs or the *lāñchanas* starting from left, the first one cannot be identified as its *lāñchana* is not seen.

The second in the niche is slightly broken. It appears to be Vimalanātha with '*boar*' carved out below his seat. He is regarded as 13th *tīrthankara*. In the third, the facial features are disfigured. However his *lāñchana* '*kalaśa*' is well carved. Thus he could be identified as Mallinātha, the 19th *tīrthankara*.

Further up, the fourth and fifth *tīrthankaras* could be identified as 'Neminātha' and 'Naminātha' whose motifs are clearly depicted as '*conch*' and '*nīlotpala*' below their seats. These could be identified as 22nd and 23rd *tīrthankaras*. Their facial features are slightly worn out.

In the sixth niche, the figure carved out is that of 'Munisuvrata' with '*tortoise*' below his seat. He could be identified as 20th *tīrthankara*. The head portion is slightly broken.

It is difficult to identify the figures shown in the seventh and eighth niches as no *lāñchanas* are indicated. In the case of the seventh the head is worn out while in the eighth the facial features are worn out. The last of the *tīrthankara* shown in the prabhāvali is 'Sumitinātha' from his *lāñchana* '*Swan*' which is depicted below his seat, and he could be identified as 5th *tīrthankara*.

Historical perspective and dating

The sculpture was picked up from the village Ingurthi, an ancient place of some historical importance under the Kakatīya kings. Inside the village, there is a reservoir known as '*Gunti cheruvu*' which is said to have been constructed by the Kakatiya king Prola II in 1117 A.D.[4] He is said to have reigned between

4 *A. P. District Gazetter*, Warangal, 1976, p. 209.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

1116-1157 A.D.[5] Prola appears to have had favoured Jainism. This is indicated from the Padmākṣi Temple inscription dated to 1117 A.D. His name is associated with the construction of '*Kadalalaya Vasadi*,' for Jaina ascetics.[6] Another inscription shows that Mailama, the wife of Prola's minister Betana built the sikhara of Padmākṣi Temple.[7] Prola's queen installed on a hill in the north west of the Ingurthi village, Śiva in his Jālandhara Bhairava aspect.[8]

It is quite likely that it could be the main deity of a Jain temple built in the village. Most of the inscriptions of the period indicate that the reigning king Prola II was noted for the patronage of Jaina monuments.[9] The sculptures in question dedicated to Mahavira could have been from a temple the construction of which would have been inaugurated along with the '*Gunticheruvu*' in the village in about 1117 A.D.

Similar Jaina sculptures with *tirthankaras* in the *prabhāvali* would also be found in different places and now displayed in various Museums like Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad and A.P. State Museum, Hyderabad. Most of them are dated back to 12th Century A.D. (see the table).[10]

I am very much thankful to Dr. T.V.G. Sastri, Director, BACRI for guiding me in preparing this monograph.

---

5 Sastry P. V. Parabrahma, *The Kakatiyas*, 1978, (Govt. of A.P., p. 74).

6 Ibid, p. 272.

7 Murthy S. Gopalakrishna, *The Sculptures of Kakatiyas*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1964, p. 13.

8 Op. cit., p. 6.

9 Murthy S. Gopalakrishna, *Jaina Vestiges in Andhra*, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1963, p. 58.

10 Ghosh A., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. III, Bharatiya Jnanapeetha, New Delhi, 1975, p. 106.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

TABLE

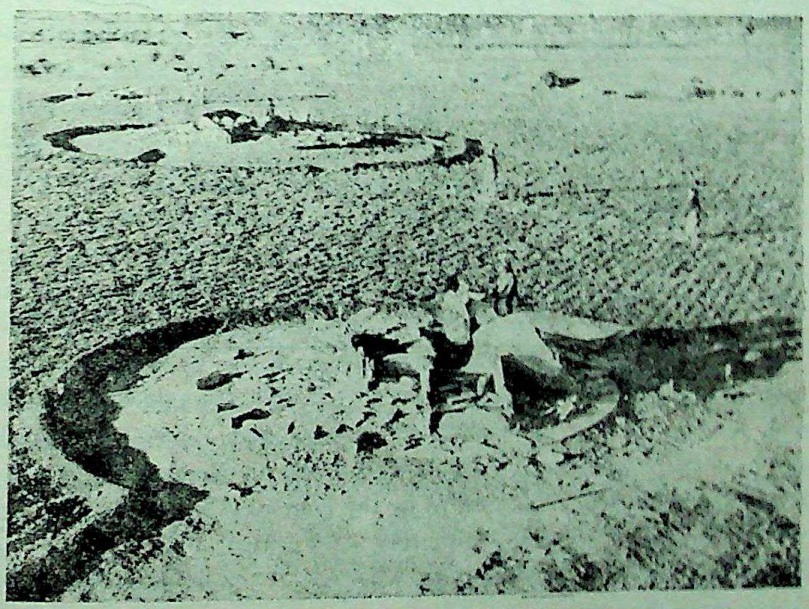
Sr. No.	Provenance/Location	Description	Probable Date	Material	Reference
1.	Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay	*Pañca Tirthankaras*	C. 9th Cent. A.D.	—	Jaina Art and Architecture, Vol. III, A. Gosh, 1975, p. 556, Pl. 347 B.
2.	Patencheru, (State Museum) Hyderabad	Mahāvīra with 5 *Tirthankaras*	12th Cent. A.D.	Blackstone	Ibid., p. 573, Pl. 359 B.
3.	Salarjung Museum, Hydrabad	*Pañca Tirthankaras*	12th Cent. A.D.	Blackstone	Ibid., p. 576, Pl. 362 A.
4.	Kupbal (Salarjung Museum) Hyderabad	Pārśvanātha with 24 *Tirthankaras*	C. 12th Cent. A.D.	—	Ibid., p. 576, Pl. 362 B.
5.	Warangal, Fort, A.P.	Standing Pārśvanātha with 22 other *tīrthankaras* and Yakṣa, Yakṣi	C. 12th Cent. A.D.	—	Jaina Vestiges in Andhra— S. Gopalakrishna Murthy, 1963, p. 60, Pl. XVIII–38 a.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

THE DISTRIBUTION PATTERN IN A MEGALITHIC BURIAL FIELD

By
N. C. Ghosh*

The megalithic field under discussion is on the right bank of the river Tungabhadra near the village Satanikota (Lat. 15° 55′ N; Long. 78° 14′ E), District Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh. The ancient remains scattered within the Jurisdiction of this village were intensively explored and partly excavated. The finds discovered range from the Early Stone Age to the Medieval period with intermittent breaks. Nearly one and half K.M. to the east of the village on a rocky upland the megalithic tombs are noticed in an approximate area of 10 hectares. The land might have been a waste and uncultivable land during the megalithic period. The digging of the K. C. Canal in 1871 A.D., however, made the cultivation possible and to reclaim this land for agriculture purpose. During this process many megaliths were destroyed and levelled to the ground. Fortunately, out of some fear or superstitious consideration, small megaliths were left intact with or without any superficial damage and 29 of them are still existing surrounded by the green smiling field (Pl. I)

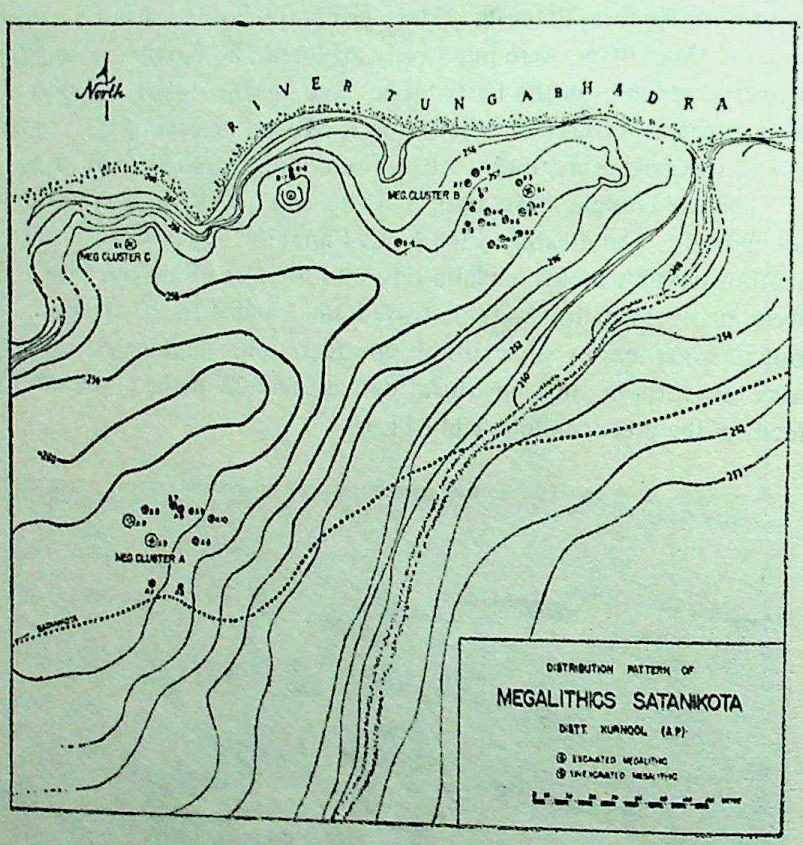


Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-December, 1987 issue, pp. 157-161.

* Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 27 Brabourne Road, Calcutta-1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The survey of the megaliths and subsequently their plotting on a site plan (Fig. 1), revealed that these are distributed here in three distinct clusters and numbered as A, B and C. The cluster 'A' is represented by ten nos. of megaliths whereas 'B' and 'C' contain eighteen and one no. respectively. The first cluster is about 400 m. south of the river bank while the second and the third is on the bank of the river and separated by 200 m. from each other. Thus the centres of the three clusters roughly formed a triangle on a plan.



There are several types of the megaliths in this triangle but significantly each point of the triangle is marked by a particular type. The typological classification of the Megaliths at Satanikota is done on the basis of architectural features found on the surface as well as in the course of the excavation and the three types : cist with passage; pit-circle, cist circle. The cluster 'A' is dominated by the cist-with passage type, whereas 'C' housed pit-circle and the 'B' features more than one type.

In the construction of all the megaliths except megalith C1 which is a pit-circle surrounded by a large granite boulders, the easily and abundantly available Cuddapah stone slabs were used both for circles and for orthostats. As regards the use of granite boulders for the stone circle, it is not completely

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

a new trait, for some megaliths in a lateritic circle stones in Tamilandu and Karnatak. The use of stones not locally available in the construction of some of the megaliths, might be due to 'ritualistic traditional warranty'.[1] In this connection, it is worthwhile to note that the megaliths situated north of the river Krishna in Kurnool and Mahaboobnagar Districts of Andhra Pradesh are dominated by cist with passage and cist circle where as in the south bank of the same river stone-circles (pit circles), dominated. While exploring Krishna and Tungabhadra it was found out that beside Satanikota at Kudaveli (Lat. 15°56' N; Long. 78° 4' E), also where a vast field contains hundreds of cist with passage type urinals At Malleswaram (Lat. 16° 2' N; Long 79° 20' E), on the northern bank of the river Krishna, two grounds of Megalithic tombs consist exclusively of stone Circle type.

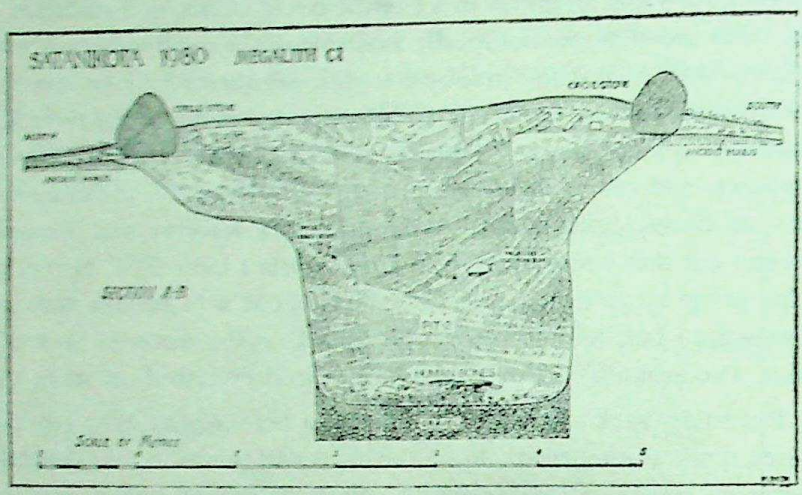
Reverting back to Satanikota Megaliths here, eight tombs representing all the three types were opened. From the excavated tombs, beside skeletal remains, the ceramic, iron and a few sundary objects of general nature were recovered. Only two Megaliths belonging to cluster 'C' and 'B' yielded skeletal remains. The absence of human remains from other excavated tombs with an exception from one opened tomb in the cluster 'B' may be due to later vandalism. The most significant discovery, however, was made in the Megalith from the cluster 'C'. This Megalith belonged to pit-circle variety of our classification. Internal diameter of this megalith which is surrounded by roughly hewn big granite boulders measured 5.50 m. while the external diameter including the outside pebble packing of 6.80 m. At a depth of about 1.27 m. from the top of the pit a skeletal remains belonging to a teenage (girl ?) without its upper and lower extremities was found in a north-south orientation, without any grave goods. Again at a depth of 1.60 m. and slightly away on the eastern direction from the above skeleton remains of an articulated goat ram was found. The digging continued in the pit and at a depth of 2.60 m. skeletal remains of two adults were found. A layer of ash was spread before the skeletons were placed in an roughly articulated position in north-south direction. Four shining black pots were found below the remains towards their head region. No metal objects, however, were associated with it. (Fig. 2).

The megalith from the cluster B which did not yield any skeletal remains neverthless, is interesting in many respects. This megalith with an internal diameter of 9.85 m. was erected on a low natural mound. Except some medium sized lime-stone slabs which were kept with intermitant gaps on the decomposed rock bottom of the oval pit in the north-south direction and seven pots (six in red ware and one black ware), on the north-eastern edge of the pit a stone-slab built ramp was provided to have an easy access to the pit from the ground level of all

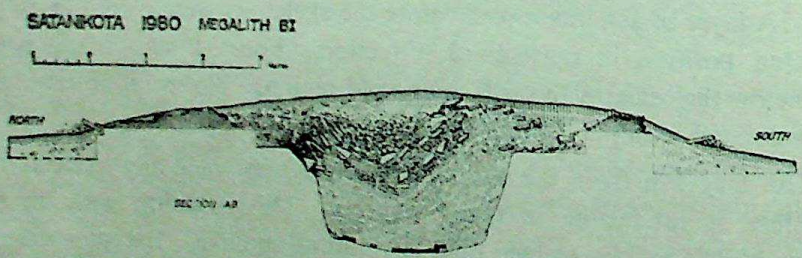
---

1 Ramachandran K. S., *Archaeology of South India : Tamilnadu*, Sandeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. 46.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.



the things the mode of filling of the megalith was more interesting. It contained three stages of filling. To begin with, it was filled with brownish loose soil. Subsequently, the filling was cut into 'U' shape which was lined with overlapping slabs and filled with black stickly clay, which was again cut in 'V' shape in the third stage and lined with overlapping stone-slabs. Finally, it was filled with river-borne pebble and brown sandy soil. An over all appearance of these stage-wise filling resembles that of a blossoming flower in the section as well as on the plan (Fig. 3).



The pattern of distribution of the megalithic tombs which emerge at Satanikota is also distinguished by the grave goods and skeletal remains or their absence. Whether, the skeletal remains recovered from the different clusters reflect racial difference also is a matter of further study. Nevertheless, the segragation of burials with their characteristic features do not appear to be merely temporal. The background and the socio-religious or economic sanction,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

if any, directed these groupings, obviously need more detailed investigation[2] over a vast area involving large number of monuments.

List of Captions

Plate I Satanikota : Megaliths from cluster 'A' with the cist with passage type. (Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)

Fig. I Satanikota : Site plan of the Megalithic burial field showing three clusters of Megaliths. (Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)

Fig. II Satanikota : Excavated Megaliths from cluster 'C'. (Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)

Fig. III Satanikota : Excavated Megaliths from cluster 'B'. (Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)

2 Ghosh N. C., "Some Observations on Surveying Megaliths of India", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, Vol. LX, Pts. 1-4, January-December 1974.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

LAPKAMAN COPPER PLATES OF ŚAṄKARAGAṆA, (KALACURI) SAṂ. 345

By

PRAVINCHANDRA C. PARIKH* and BHARATI K. SHELAT*

The plates were first found by Shri Amaraji Thakor, while ploughing his field near Malāy Timbo in the boundary of *Lapkaman*, 10 kms. away from Ahmedabad, Gujarat State. They are now in the possession of Shri Bhalaji Amaraji, Halaji Amaraji and Mangaji Amaraji. Shri Ratilal Tripathi of Mahamadpura near Sarkhej first brought these plates to our notice through Shri Bhupendra Joshi of Ahmedabad.

It was through the efforts of Shri Pashabhai Patel that the plates became accessible to us for reading and editing the inscription. We are very much thankful to all these persons. We also thank Dr. H. G. Shastri and Prof. R. T. Savaliya for helping us in preparing the text.

The *copper-plates* are two in number and are inscribed on one side only, each one measuring 24½ cms. in length and 19 cms. in height. Except in a few places, the writing is in a state of good preservation. Each plate has two holes for the rings, out of which only one ring has been discovered. The ring is about 6 cms. in diameter. The total weight of the plates is 1.450 kgs.

The *record* consists of 36 lines, 18 being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average number of letters in each line is 38. The Average size of the letters is 0.9 × 0.6 cms.

The characters belong to the western variety of the Southern Alphabets, with knobs at the top. They show some mixture of nothern peculiarities. For instance, the *mātrās*, in the case of the vowel-signs for medial '*e*', '*ai*', '*O*' and '*au*', those for '*e*' and '*O*' raised slightly above the top level, see °*Vipule* (L. 2), °*bhasite* (L. 2), °*manvaye* (L. 3), °*mano*° (L. 3), °*rājo* (L. 5), °*śśreyo*° (L. 10) etc.

While the additional signs in the case of '*ai*' and '*au*' are raised considerably above the top level, e.g. °*sakalairābhigāmikai*° (L. 6), °*pautrā*° (L. 21), °*tathai*° (L. 22), *pauṣa* (L. 35) etc. The letter '*ṇa*' appears with its northern form with the cursive loops on both the sides, e.g. °*kiraṇa* (L. 2), °*vāraṇa* (L. 7),

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept. December, 1987 issue p. 163-168.

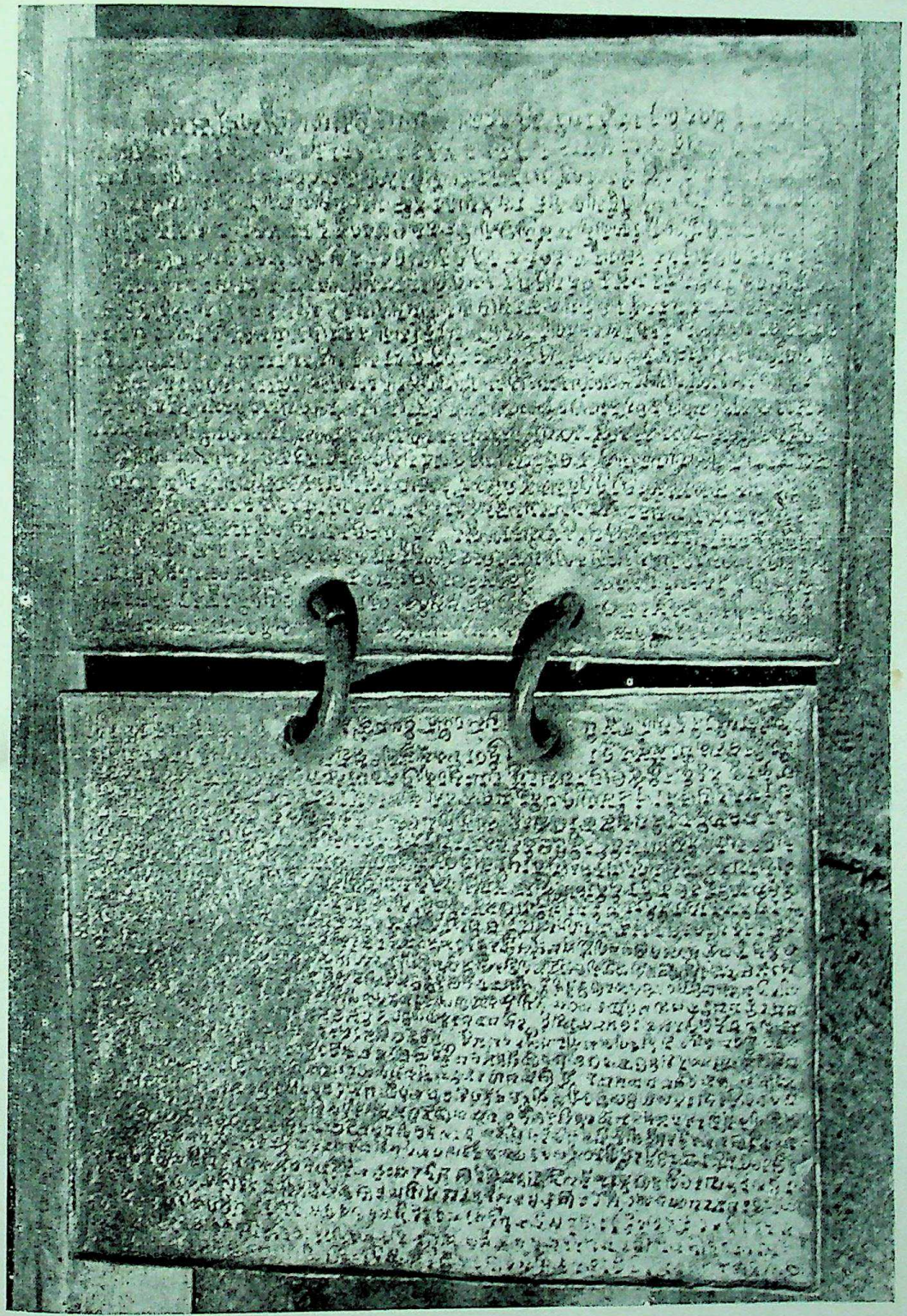
* B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, H. K. Arts College Compound, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad 380 009.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the Abhona plates and the present grant, triumphant march of Śaṅkaragaṇa can be traced up to the banks of river Gaṅgā beyound Malwa and his rule on Malwa can be dated at least from (Kalacuri) saṁ. 345 to saṁ. 347.

The shifting of the plates from Madhya Pradesh and their discovery in Gujarat cannot be accounted for.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.



"ભો. જે. વિદ્યાભવનના સૌજન્યથી"

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Text

First Plate

1 ओं[1] स्वस्ति [॥] विजयस्कन्धावाराद्गङ्गोत्तरकूले नैमिशप्रत्यासन्नराजात्रस्वामीवासकाच्छर-
दुपगम [–*]

2 प्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुले विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वापा [–*]

3 श्रयदुर्ल्लङ्घे गाम्भीर्य्यवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटच्चुरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनो [–*]

4 हरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्त्या भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपर ×कलङ्क [–*]

5 दोषरहित ×कुलकुमुदवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशेषलोभा [–]

6 दिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धि [–*]

7 र्य्येन च रुचिरवंशशोभिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथ [–*]

8 पेनेवाविशङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय

9 विग्रह °पराभिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवार्ज्जन °प्रदानाय प्रदान(नं)न्ध(ध)र्म्माय

10 धर्म्मश्रेयोवाप्तये तस्य पुत्र °पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशाः धनद [–*]

11 वरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावस्स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्ज्जितराजश्री °प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्र [–*]

12 सामन्तमण्डल °परस्य(स्प)रापीडितधर्मार्त्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत [–*]

13 हृदयस्सम्यकप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविण[2]विश्राणनावाप्तधर्म्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना [–*]

14 नां नृपतिवंशानाम्प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्धकृपणसमभिलषित [–*]

15 मनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रद °पूर्व्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृपादानुध्यात

16 °परममाहेश्वरः श्री शङ्करगणस्सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राम [–*]

17 महत्तराधिकारिकादीत्स[3]माज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः मालवकभूमौ बिल्वार्य्या [–*]

18 राष्ट्रकसम्बद्ध बिल्वार्य्यापूर्व्वत एव मक्कडवड एष ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः

Second Plate

19 सोपरिकरस्सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यस्सर्व्वादित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिका परिहीणः

20 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यः आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन

21 °पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः आनन्दपुरवास्तव्य आलौ [?]- हायन सगोत्रच्छागलेय सब्रह्मचारि

---

1 An auspicious symbol.
2 Delete °विण°.
3 Read °दीन्समा°.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

22 ब्राह्मण भट्ट रुद्रदत्त० भट्टेश्वरदत्त० भट्टदेवदत्त० भट्ट प्रजापति भद्रदत्त० तथैतद्गोत्र भट्ट सूर्य्य[–*]

23 दत्तपुत्र शिवदत्त० विष्णुदत्त० इशानदत्त० यज्ञदत्त० धर्म्मदत्तेभ्यो नवभ्यः बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि[–*]

24 होत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये सूर्य्यग्रहणे श्री बुद्धराज [–*]

25 विज्ञापनया उदका[4]तिसर्गेणातिसृष्टः यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा[ऽऽ*]गामिनृपतिभोगपतिभि °प्रबल [–*]

26 पवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलङ्जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकाल [–*]

27 स्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानफलेष्वसुभिश्शशिकररुचिरश्चिराय यशश्चिन्ती [–*]

28 षु (र्षु) भिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्य °पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वा[ऽ*]ज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा [–*]

29 च्छिद्यमानं वा[ऽ*]नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्यु[5]क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।।*]

30 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमे(मि)दः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[6] ॥ [१ ॥*]

31 विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२ ॥*]

32 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [३ ॥*]

33 पूर्व्वदत्तान्द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठर ॥ महीम्महीं(हि)मतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम- [४ ॥*][7] पि च ।

34 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि [।*] को नाम

35 साधु °पुनरादीत[8] [॥ ५ ॥*] इति संवत्सरशतत्रये पञ्चचत्वारिङ्शदधिके पौषबहुलपञ्चदश्याम्महापीलु–

36 पति पाशुपत दूतकं लिखितमिदम्महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृत वाट्यलिनेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ५ पौष ब १० ५ ॥

---

4 Read विज्ञापनयोदका°.

5 Read °स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

6 Metre of this and the next three verses is *Anuṣṭubh*.

7 Read °पालनम् [॥ ४ ॥*] अपि च.

8 Metre, *Indravajrā*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

JÑĀNAKRIYĀVĀDAḤ—A RARE AND UNPUBLISHED KALAHA-KĀVYA BY MAYĀCANDRA

By

SIDDHARTH YESHWANT WAKANKAR*

It is a fact that Sanskrit Literature rightly boasts of a variety of poetical compositions. It is flanked by the two National Epics, viz. the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The five *vidagdha-mahākāvya*s serve as its vital breaths. The *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu are its two feet on which the entire edifice of the *gadya-kāvya* literature is firmly standing. The *Stotra* and *Subhāṣita* literature is a perennial source of joy and wisdom. The most spicy substance, however, is supplied by the Quarrel-poems or the *Kalaha-kāvya*s, as I term them.

Conversation is the medium of conveying our thoughts, feelings, emotions etc. When interests clash, these conversations turn into quarrels, disputes, discords etc. The tendency to quarrel is a natural instinct in all the species of living beings. In the case of the human beings, it can be said without an iota of exaggeration that quarrelling presupposes a good command over the language and its nuances. The main difference between a conversation and a quarrel is that there may be conversation without *kalaha*, but, every *kalaha* has conversation as its medium. There is no one-way traffic as far as *kalaha* is concerned.

The word *Kalaha* has a variety of meanings and shades. It can roughly mean a conflict. Since conflict is a part of life, it will be found reflected in every form of literature. The causes of *kalaha* can be as follows : enmity, rivalry, antagonism, difference of opinion or attitude, social, domestic, political causes etc. Though these can be the obvious causes of *kalaha*, the meaning which I intend to attach to the word *Kalaha*—as far as these poetic compositions are concerned—is that of 'competition' or 'assertion of one's own superiority over the other'. The *kāvya* which will be described in this small paper has this main speciality that each of the contenders has a clear intention to prove its superiority over its rival. It is indeed very interesting that both the parties speak out the truth to prove their points.

The origin of this kind of conversational poetry can be traced back to the Dialogue Hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. But, in those conversations, there is hardly any conflict regarding the superiority of one speaker over the other one. The first

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept. - December, 1987 issue, pp. 169-172.

* Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda-390 002, Gujarat.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

instance of this kind of *kalaha*—element is to be found in the famous parable from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 4.5. 8-12) describing the dispute between Manas and Vāk. The second and more powerful example is the well-known story of *Indriya-saṁvāda* from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (5.1. 6-15. *Te heme prāṇāḥ ahaṁśreyase parasparam vivadamānāḥ* etc.) Such instances do occur in Classical Sanskrit Literature also; e.g. Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra-saṁvāda from the *Mahābhārata* (See : *Dhigbalam kṣatriyabalam brāhmaṭejobalam balam*); Siṁhadilīpa-saṁvāda from the *Raghuvaṁśa;* Baṭu-Pārvatī-saṁvāda from the *Kumārasaṁbhava* etc. In dramas, *subhāṣita*s etc. also such descriptions are found in abundance. But, in this paper, I am dealing with an unpublished manuscript, so such printed descriptions are not considered.

THE WORK : The present work is available in only one manuscript. It is deposited at the Asiatic Society of Bombay and bears the Acc. No. BBRAS-1607. The Ms. has only two folios and is dated V.S. 1808. It describes in very simple language the relative importance of *Jñāna* and *Kriyā* and at the end, the verdict is given that both these are required for Final Emancipation. Both the parties convincingly advance arguments to prove their superiority. But, this is an unending process. Hence, the Teachers intervene and pronounce the judgement that both *Jñāna* and *Kriyā* are true and are means to attain Liberation. *Jñāna* is like the eyes and *Kriyā* is like the feet and when they are together, then only they can reach the Throne of Liberation. They are interdependent like the blind and the lame and the one without the other is incomplete to achieve any goal in life.

A speciality of this manuscript is that it is in the handwriting of the author himself. It was written down by him (i.e. Mayācandra) at Porbandar in V.S. 1808, as is clear from the colophon. It is very much difficult to give any authentic information about the life-sketch of this author, as no details are available anywhere. I would feel obliged if any scholar enlightens me on this.

It may be noted here that there are many such small works bearing similar names such as *Jñānakriyāsaṁvāda* (BORI No. 592 of 1875-76), *Jñānakriyā-parasparasaṁbhāṣaṇam* (Oriental Institute, Baroda. Ms. No. 19898) etc. But, all these Mss. differ in contents from our Ms., the text of which is given here. Hence, there is no necessity of giving any variant readings in this paper.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ज्ञानक्रियावादः मयाचन्द्रलिखितः

[F1a] भो भो विद्वांशः(सः), श्रोतव्यं यत्साम्प्रतं श्रद्धालूनां चेतसि वाग्विलाश(स)-श्रवणेच्छा वर्तते । तस्मादस्माभिः पण्डितगुणतार्कितप्रपञ्चयथोक्तन्यायेन वाग्विलाश(सः) कृ(क्रि)यते येन एतेषां श्रद्धा[द्ध]नां बहुधा भक्तिस्समुल्लसति, पुनः जैनधर्मस्योन्नतिर्जायते । यत्र जैनधर्मस्योन्नतिस्तत्र मोक्षनिदानम् ।

तथाहि—धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थेषु मोक्ष एव परमोत्तमपुरुषार्थः । तदर्थं ज्ञानस्य प्राधान्यं बहुधा श्रु(श्रू)यते यत् ज्ञान[म्] एव मोक्षकारणं, तस्मात् ज्ञानस्यैव प्रतिपत्तिः कर्तव्या । तस्याः प्रतिपत्तेः तत्कार्यसान्निध्यं [समु]द्भवेत् । अनाद्यनन्तो(न्तं) ज्ञान[म्] एव परमात्मनः, तस्मात् ज्ञानसम्पर्कादात्मना मनुष्यत्वं लब्धं, तस्मात् ज्ञानाधिक्यम् ॥

एतच्छ्रुत्वा क्रियापक्षग्राही अवदत् । भो ज्ञानमताङ्गीकरणबुद्धे, त्वयेदं किमुक्तम । किं क्रियां विना मुक्तिर्भवति । किमु यत्र तत्र क्री(क्रि)याम(मा)हात्म्यं क्रिययाऽष्टकर्मफलानि निर्घाटनं वाच्यते सिद्धान्तेषु, यद्वीतरागाऽपि क्रियाङ्गीकृ(क्रि)यते यत् ज्ञानं निष्पद्यति(ते) तदपि क्रियासम्पर्कात् , न हि परं ज्ञानस्याधिक्यं कृ(क्रि)यातः । अपर्यवा(र्याया)वस्थायां चात्मनः क्रिया सुखदाऽस्ति । तस्माद् भो क्रियाम्[अं]गीकुरु ॥

किमुक्तं भो क्रियापक्षग्राहिन् , त्वं जानासि किं सिद्धान्ते त्वेवमुक्तं भो यत् 'प्रथमं ज्ञानं ततो दया' इति । [F1b] पुनस्त्वं क्रियां क्रियां पुत्करोसि(षि) । क्रिया तु संसारे अनेकधा दृश्यंते । तया किं मोक्षसाधनम् । कुम्भकाराः घटकरणरूपां क्रियां विदधं(ध)ति । तन्तुवायकाः पटकरणरूपां क्रियां कुर्व्वन्ति । कार्षुकाः पुनः कृषिकर्मभूभागखेडनसूडन-ताडनेत्यादि बहुधां क्रियां कुर्व्वन्ति । परं तेनार्थसाधनं न हि । तस्माद् भो, ज्ञानं चोभय-लोकसाधनं कथं न मन्यते येन कथञ्चिद्विज्ञानमात्रेणापि बहवो जीवाः संसारार्णवं ससुखं तीर्णाः । साम्प्रतमपि बहवो(वः) समुत्तरन्ति, अनागमे कालेऽपि बहवो(वः) समुत्तरी(रि)ष्यन्ति तत् ज्ञानाङ्गी(नमङ्गी)कर्तव्यम् ॥

न हि नहि एवं च कथं विचार्य्यते । यत्र सूक्ष्मसाधारणभवे समायाते चात्मनो ज्ञानोदयं कुतः । तत्र तु क्रिया एव सुखावलम्बी ज्ञेया । एवं बहुधा भवभ्रमणवेलायां एकान्तो-त्पत्तिनाशजरावियोगसंयोगभोगरोगोत्पाद(दि)का क्रिया जन्यकर्मध्वंश(स)नसमर्था क्रिया ज्ञेया, साध्या क्रिया साध्य(ध)कत्वेन अभव्यापि सौधर्मतः नेवग्रैवे[1] विमाने देवत्वं प्रापुः । तर्हि चान्येषां

FN-१ संदिग्धमेतत् ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

भव्यानां जैनधर्मरतानां चोभयलोकसाधकानां गुरुभक्तिपरायणानां दृढसम्यक्त्वप्रतिपालकानां विवेकविज्ञानचातुर्यमाधुर्य्यो(र्य्यौ)दार्य्यगुणसहितानां क्रियासाफल्यं कथं न भवति । तस्मात् विवेकबुद्धया जैनप्ररूपितक्रियाऽङ्गीकर्तव्या इति ॥

[F2a] भो क्रियाकपटभाण्डोदरभृत, श्रृणु मदीयं वच[:]। सिद्धान्ते जैनेन्द्रेणोक्तं यत् जीवाजीवपुन्य(ण्य)पापसंवरनिर्जराश्रवबन्धमोक्षादीनां तत्त्वानां ज्ञाते(ने) सम्यक्त्वापत्तिर्भवति । तस्यापत्तेः चारित्र(त्र्य)प्रतिपत्तिः सैव मोक्षहेतुः । मोक्षे निराबाधकत्वमव(वि)नाशित्वमव्याबाधितत्वमरूपित्वं जनयति । तत्सर्व्वैः ज्ञानोपकृतिकारकेन एतादृशेन अनन्तसुखलीलादायकेन ज्ञानेन समं प्रीतिर्विधेया । येन तवात्मसम्बन्धी परमसुखावाप्तिर्भवेत् तद्ग्राह्यम् ॥

भो ममत्वकारक किं यथा तथा जल्पसि अस्माकं पुरस्तात् । त्वं जानासि किं ये गुणाः क्रियायामुक्तास्ते गुणा ज्ञाने भवन्त्येव, न ज्ञानपङ्गुस्तु वर्तते, पङ्गोस्तादृशी प्रवृत्तिः कुतः । भो तर्हि त्वं चान्धादे दृष्टे[2] त्वं किं जानासि । अदृष्टस्त्वं रण्डापुत्रविरुद्धसंशनं(शंसनं)किम ॥

एवं परस्परं युद्धे जायमाने आचार्य्यैरुक्तम । भो ज्ञानक्रियावादकौ, युवां द्वौ सत्यौ । द्वावपि मोक्षसाधकौ । द्वाभ्यां ज्ञानक्रियाभ्यां चक्षुचरणाभ्यां मुक्तिसिंधा(हा)सनं समभ्येति । तस्मादस्मद्वचश्चाङ्गीकृत्य सुतरां जैनधर्मे कुस(श)ला भवन्तु ॥

इति ज्ञानक्रियावादः ॥ लि मुनि मयाचन्दः ॥
नागाभ्रेभभुवि वर्षे रम्ये वा पौरबिन्दिरे ।
मयाचन्द्रो लिखत्येवं पूज्यानां पदधूलिभाक् ॥

FN-२ सन्दिग्धम ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. Joshi*

Aligarh Journal of Oriental Studies, Viveka Publications, 3/354, Samad Road, Aligarh 202001 (U.P.)

Vol. III, No. 2, Autumn 1986

Bhandare, V. V. : Structural and Semantic Aspects of the Dvanda Compound

Bronkhorst : Tantra and Prasaṅga

Tripathi, Dipti : Apabhraṁśa in Sanskrit Grammar : An Appraisal of Bhartṛhari's View

Matsumura, Hisashi : On Editing Indian Codices Multi

Sarao, K. T. S. : Early Buddhist Attitude Towards Women

Khanna, Anuradha & Singh, Navjyoti : Physical and Biological Notions in Jaina Cosmology

Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Kulapati K. M. Munshi Marg, Bombay 400007

Vol. XLV-XLVI-XLVII, Nos. 1-4, 1985, 1986, 1987

M. M. Prof. J. H. Dave Felicitation Volume

Sharma, Sarveswara : Some Problems Raised with regard to the Concluding Verses of the Vākyakāṇḍa of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya

Stietencron, H. Von : A Note on Sūrya Worship and the Iranian Cult of Mithra

Kulkarni V. M. : Criteria for Pṛthagalaṁkāratvam

Kantawala, S. G. : Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra—Some Observations

Ram Gopal : Vedic Term Vāstu and Its Derivatives

Jani, A. N. : Lalitopākhyāna and the Durgāsaptaśatī

Shastri A. D. : Inconsistancies in the Trivandrum Plays

Dange, S. A. : Woman's Share and the Mīmāṁsā Rule at Dvayoḥ Praṇayanti—An Examination

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-2, Sept.—December, 1987 issue, pp. 173-179.

*Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Dange, S. S. : Taboos in the Dharmaśāstra Tradition

Morgenroth Wolfgang : Sanskrit Studies in the German Democratic Republic

Shastri, Satya Vrat : Vedic Sacrifices in Kālīdāsa

Mehta, Mahesh : The Dynamics of Self-Knowledge in Advaita and Yoga Vṛttijñāna and Svarūpajñāna

Sarma, Rajendra Nath : Epistemology of the Prābhākara Mīmāṁsā (as presented in Śālikanātha's Prakaraṇa Pañcikā)

Paradkar, M. D. : Relevance of Dharmaśāstra in Modern Times

Upadhye, P. M. : Social Aspects of the Dharmaśastra

Jog, K. P. : Kālīdāsa's Depiction of Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā in Accordance with Precepts of Dharmaśāstra

Moghe, S. G. : Relation of Kāmaśāstra to Dharmaśāstra

Ramanathan, N. S. : The Importance of Dhamaśāstras

Nanavati, Rajendra : The Kuṭilaka Daṇḍakāṣṭha of the Vidūṣaka

Agehananda Bharati : Authenticity and Lineage in Indian Religious Transmission and Transaction

Upadhyaya, S. A. : Letter-Forms in Tantra

Apte, K. U. : Is Mādhyamika Śūnya Positive ?

Davane, G. V. : A Note on the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi Nābhānediṣṭha

Shastri, Y. S : Nāgārjuna—A Mahāyanist

Patel, Jayanti : Nāṭyadīpaprakaraṇa

Bhavanachari M. : Mahābhārata and Dharmaśāstras

Pandya Shveni ; Vācika Abhinaya

Vartak, P. V. : Determination of the Date of Mahābhārata by Astronomical Method

Modi, Gopalkrishna : The Hindu Calender

Brahmavidyā, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras 600020

Vol. 51, 1987

Festschrift for Professor Ludo Rocher

Olivelle, Patrick : King and Ascetic

Lariviere, Richard W. : Witness as the Basis for All Other Modes of Hindu Law

Solomon, Richard : An Ancient Indian Diplomatic Dispute

Smith. Frederick M. : Agni's Body

Feldhaus, Anne : The Destruction of Sins in the Gautamī Māhātmya

Mamme, Patricia Y. : Bhakti and Dharma in Service to the Lord (A Śrivaiṣṇava Theological Problem)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Fort, A. O. : Dream and Sleep in Later Advaita Vedānta

Alper, Harvey P. : Svabhāvam Avabhāsasya Vimarśam : Judgement as a Transcendental Catagory in Utpaladeva's Śaiva Theology

Deshpande, Madhav M. : Pāṇinian Syntax of Sanskrit Gerund Constructions—An Alternative View

Weiss, Mitchell : An Account of Unmāda According to Non-Medical Sanskrit Sources

Malandra, W. W. : Raśnu and the Office of Divine Judge (Comparative Reconstructions and the Varuṇa Problem)

East and West, Instituto Itallano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, Via Merulana, 248, 00185 Roma, Italia

Vol. 36, Nos. 1-3 (Sept. 1986)

Makkhan Lal : Chronology of the Protohistoric & Early historic Cultures of the Upper Ganga Plains

Agrawal, Madan Mohan : Treatment of Reasoning in Advaita Vedānta

Scialpi, Fabio : The Feast of Dasarā in the City of Mysore

Donaldson, Thomas' E : Erotic Rituals on Orissan Temples

Kalidas, Raju : Viṣṇu's Mohinī Incarnation - An Iconographical & Sexological Study

Younger, Paul : The Citamparam Temple Complex and Its Evolution

Thakur, Laxman S. : Architectural and Sculptural Art of Himachal Pradesh The Case Study of Hat Koti Temples

Journal of Indian Philosophical Research, Indian Council of Philosophical Research, U.S.O. House, 6 Special International Area, New Mehrauli Road, New Delhi-110 067

Vol. V, No. 3, May-Aug. 1988

Shukla, Pt. Badrinath : Dehātmavāda or The Body as Soul—Exploration of a Possibility within Nyāya Thought

Saha, Sukharanjan : In Search of a Theory of Truth in Nyāya

Sen, Pranal Kumar : Truths without Facts

Velasserry, Sebastian : The Value-ought of Self-realization—A Phenomenological Approach

Journal of Indian Philosophy, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht & Boston

Vol. 15, No. 1. March 1987

Tola, P. and Dragonetti, C. : Śūnyatāsaptati—The Seventy Kārikās on Voidness (According to the Svavṛtti of Nāgārjuna)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Perrett, Roy W. : Egoism, Altruism and Intentionalism in Buddhist Ethics
Dastidar, Koyeli Ghosh : Individual Autonomy in Traditional Indian Thought

No. 2, June 1987

Trivedi, M. M. : Citsukha's View on Self-Luminosity
K.R. Mandal, Pradyot : Some Problems of Perception in Navya-Nyāya
Bharadwaja, V. K. : Implication and Entailment in Navya-Nyāya Logic
Chinchore, Mangala : Some Thoughts on Significant Contributions of Buddhist Logicians

No. 3, Sept. 1987

Chatterjee, Amita : Power & Śakti—A Comparative Study
Payne, R. K. : The Theory of Meaning in Buddhist Logicians—The Historical and Intellectual Context of Apoha

No. 4, December 1987

Hayes, Richard P. : On the Reinterpretation of Dharmakīrti's Svabhāvahetu
Bhattacharya, Chandidas : Can There be Empirical Evidence for General Truth ?
Pajin, Dushan : The Legitimacy of the Term Philosophy in an Asian Context—The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy
Yu-Kwan NG. : The Arguments of Nāgārjuna in the Light of Modern Logic
Feverstein, Georg : The Concept of God (Iśvara) in Classical Yoga

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka-2, Bangladesh

Vol. XXXII, No. 2, Dec. 1987

Dani, Ahmad Hasan : Mediaeval Kingship in Gilgit
Hasna Begam : Marital Status of Women in Folklores of Bangladesh
Ghose, Ramendra Nath : The Foundation of the Madhyamaka-Prasangika School of Buddhism by Nāgārjuna in His Paradigm of Middle Way Dialectics

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-4, Sept. '86-June '87

Kansara, Narayan : Vedic Mathematics—A Novel Ancient Tool for Modern Science
Vyas, R. T. : Question in Philosophical Perspective

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Sathe, Jayashree : Is RV. 10.121—A Hymn to Prajāpati ?

Kulkarni, R. P. : Management of Sacrificial Ceremonies of Ancient India

Bhatt, B. N. : Vālmīki's Skill in the Delineation of the Sentiments

Dwivedi, Lava Kush Prasad : Role of the Concurrent Cultures in the Cultural Make-up of the Rāmāyaṇa Age

Gupta, Bharat : The Date of Nāṭya-śāstra

Shah Umakant P. and Bender Ernest : Mathura and Jainism

Moghe, S. G. : Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 5-28—A Reappraisal

Sandesara, B. J. : Monitoring Underground Water Resources as Described in the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā (6th Cent. A.D.) of Varāhamihira

Bhayani, H. C. : Some Early Literary References to the Rāvaṇahasta

Sen Gupta, Banibaran : The State of Society as Reflected in Bāṇa's Works

A. Janaki : A Brief Note on the Prevalency of Anibaddha in Classical Sanskrit Literature

Joshi, Vasanti : Sea-Trade as Depicted in the Kathāsaritsāgara

Wakankar, S. Y. : Gaṇeśacampū by Cintāmaṇī A Rare & Unpublished Work

Hashim, S A. : Terracottas and Its Relation with Tribal Tradition of Worship in Gujarat

Sengupta, Gautam : Early Image of Lakulīśa from Eastern India

Arole, Meera : Kūrma (Tortoise) in Literature and Archaeology

Shastri, Ajay Mitra : Some Aspects of Personal Names in the Vākāṭaka Inscriptions

Kurukshetra University Research Journal, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra 132119 (Haryana)

Vol. XX-XXI, 1986-87

Brajesh Krishna : Management and Maintenance of the Temples as Gleaned from the Gurjara Pratihāra Epigraphs

Sinha, Hari : Cārvākīya Tattvamīmāṁsā kī Samikṣā (Hindi)

Gupta, Usha : Kumārasambhava ke Kāraka Viṣayaka Apāṇinīya Prayoga (Hindi)

Sambodhi, L. D. Institute of Indology, Near Gujarat University, Ahmedabad-9

Vol. 12, Nos. 1-4, April 1983-Jan. 1984

Sharma, Ram Murti : Dṛṣṭisṛṣṭivāda—An Analysis and Critical Appraisal

Sharma, Ram Murti : The Advaita and I-Sense

Shukla, Chitra P. : The Rejection of Sītā in Rāmāyaṇa Based Plays (upto 17th Cent.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Kansara, Narayana M. : The Indian Music in Its Sources in the Sāmaveda
Hegde, R. D. : Hymns on Rātrī in the Atharvaveda
Betai, R. S. : Śṛṅgāre Vipralambhākhye
Shastri, Y. S. : Tripurā-Tantra (Śrividyā)—Its Philosophy and Path of Sādhanā
Nandi, T. S. : Fixing Up of Some Variants from Kālidāsa (Ref. Hemacandra's Kāvyānuaśāsana)
Baxi, M. V. : Morality, Authority and Society—The Problem of Dharmaprāmāṇya
Pandya, Jagriti : Viśvanātha's Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa & Sāhityadarpaṇa
Hegde, V. D. : Perception According to Vyākaraṇa Śāstra

Svādhyāya, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. 24, Nos. 1-2, Dīpotsavī & Vasantapañcamī V.S. 2042 43

Patel, Aruna K. : Rasa Śabdanī Vyutpatti ane Svarūpa (Gujarati)
Desai, Mahendrakumar M. : Pāścātya Cintaka Whiteheadnī Utkrāntiviṣayaka Vicāradhāra (Gujarati)
Desai, B. G. : Pāścātya Tarkaśāstranī Vikāsagāthā (Gujarati)
Dave, Jayendra : Vācana-Paṭhana—Śāstrīya Vibhāvanā (Gujarati)
Joshi, Devadatta : Tīthāvali (Gujarati)
Sandesara, B. J. : Vṛddha Cāṇakya Nītiśāstra—Junī Gujarātī Gadyānuvāda (Gujarati)
Joshi, Lakshmesha : Dharmakīrtinā Maṇipradīpaprabhānā Dṛṣṭāntanuṁ Bhāsarvajñe Kareluṁ Khaṇḍana (Gujarati)
Shukla, Ramesh : Kapalinaḥ Ke Pinakinaḥ ? (Gujarati)
Tripathi, R. C. : Sāhitya Sāmenā Ākṣeponum Kāvyamīmāṁsāmāṁ Khaṇḍana (Gujarati)

(Srī) Vankateswara University Oriental Journal, S.V.U. Oriental Research Institute, Srī Vankateswara University, Tirupati 517 502

Vol. XXV, Parts 1-2, Jan.-Dec. 1982

Naidu, W. Prahlada : Vālmīki's Concept of Poetry
Betai, R. S. : Kālidāsa on Poetry
Moghe, S. G. : Mallinātha's Interpretation of the Manusmṛti V. 83
Vankateswara Rao, K. V. : Social Life in Minor Sanskrit Dramas
Raghavacharya, K. V. : Nāṭyaśāstra on Regional Language and Varieties
Narasimhacharya, N. C. V. : Pariṇāma or the Commutation and Mallinātha
Sharma, Ramdutt : Mārwār's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature
Sharma, Ravindrakumar : Military System of the Parmāras (C. 800-1500 AD.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Panjab University, Hoshiarpur 146021

Vol. XXIII, Pts. 1-2, June-Dec. 1985

Murthi, M. Srimannarayana : Analysis of Ṇic in the Causative Forms According to Grammarians

Sudha Devi : The Concept of Guṇa in Sanskrit Grammar

Singh, Bhim : A Critique on Pāṇini's Four Sūtras from View-point of Purpose of Object

Lowe, Rameshkumar : A Note on the Construction of the Kaṭha Upaniṣad

Chauhan, D. V. : The Ṛgvedians in Anatolia

Chakrabarti Sanat Kumar : Kva Pārikṣita Abhavan?

Chaube, B. B. : What does the Asuras' Performance of Sacrifice Allude to in Vedic Literature ?

Dhavan, B. D. : Ethics in Aitareya and Taittirīya Āraṇyakas

Mahdihassan, S. : Breath and Blood Vapours as the Earliest Concept of Soul

Mohanty, Malaya Kumar : Controversy of Bhakti and Jñāna in Madhva System of South India

Ananthanarayana, M. S. : Expressions of Politeness in Sanskrit

Vijayan, K. : Bhakti in Nārāyaṇīya

Jha, Parmeshwar : Astronomical Principles in Nārada Purāṇa

Vyas, R. T. : Theory of Ethics—Indian Perspective

Singh, Tehsildar : Agni-Purāṇa on Temple Architecture

Ojha, Girish : Nānakacandrodaya of Devarāja—A Literary Study

Shashikala, M. V. : A Note on the Quotations from Kālidāsa in Ratnaśrī (A Commentary on Kāvyādarśa by Ratnaśrījñāna)

Ramana, M. V. : The Yathāsaṅkhya Theory in the Formation of Sandhis —Some Implications

Bhaduri, Nrisinha Prasad : A Typical Case of Plagiarism

Bhatt, C. Pandurang : A Note on Rules and Conventions Connected with Dice-Play

Shastri, Ajay Mitra : The Pāṇḍavas of Meklā

Gupta, D. K. : Kuntaka's Critique of Kālidāsa as a Master of Sukumāra Style

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

લેખકોને :

૧ પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ નકલમાં ટાઈપકામની ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨ લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ, એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩ 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪ સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫ પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખો જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વા ધ્યા ય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **રામકૃષ્ણ તુ. વ્યાસ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

લવાજમ :

—ભારતમાં...રૂા. ૨૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં...યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું—**નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨.**

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય', પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મંદિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

REVIEW

Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Assam—Śaṅkaradeva and his Times—by MAHESWAR NEOG Published by M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi—110 007. (Reprint 1985) Pages XX-400, Price : Rs. 200/-.

India is a vast country of many provinces in which many different languages are spoken but there appears to be unity in spite of diversity in the religious sphere. The cultural history of India of medieval age is also a mystery to many, since sources of history are scanty and they are found in regional languages not known to many, though there are common sources in Sanskrit. The present Book '*Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Assam*' by Prof. Maheswar Neog deals with exhaustively the Śaṅkaradeva movement of Assam which has been very little studied here and abroad. This book presents the early history of neo-Vaiṣṇava faith through the accounts of life-sketches of the great Vaiṣṇava saints like Śaṅkaradeva, Mādhavadeva and others. It is admitted that the Vaiṣṇava history of Assam is a history of splits but this is the case with many other faiths in India and outside India. Splits are natural to any religious order or sect. Bhakti movement was a mass movement in India since it had the most appealing factors and it was easy to practise for a common man. The book deals with Music and Painting as the important aspects of this Vaiṣṇava Faith in Assam.

There are 12 chapters dealing with material for a study of Śaṅkaradeva and his times, political conditions of the age, social and economic background, early history of the Vaiṣṇava Movement with reference to Śaṅkaradeva, Literary work of Śaṅkaradeva, the doctrines of the Faith, Śaṅkaradeva's Philosophical views and his dramatic art and technique, Vaiṣṇava Music and dances, neo-Vaiṣṇava institutions and practical and social implications of Śaṅkaradeva's Bhakti movement.

At the end, the Bibliography and Index are added. The contents of the present book present a good picture of Cultural History of Assam from the 12th Century to 15th Century. It is very interesting to read the material on 'Bāra Bhūyās' of Kāmarūpa-Assam since the tradition of Bāra Bhūyās is common to both Assam and Bengal, this institution of Assam has played an important role in the country's history round about the 13th Century (Pages of the book 48 to 72).

Many of the Vaiṣṇava leaders of the periods including Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva were Kāyasthas. The book also deals with Śaktism which was

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

born in the north-eastern region of India, Assam and Bengal and *Kālikā-purāṇas*. (Pages 82-86). ' Satī ' system seems to have been in vogue.

As said earlier, the book aims at Śaṅkaradeva and his times and the author Prof. Maheswar Neog has been quite successful in presenting us the full picture of Śaṅkaradeva and his Times with appropriate references. The learned author has not forgotten to refer to Neo-Vaiṣṇava Institutions and practices. In this connection, mention may be made to ' Sattras ' which are the Vaiṣṇava establishments of Assam, very peculiar to Assam. The book also mentions the daily life of a Bhakta (Pages 354-359). Śaṅkaradeva and other Vaiṣṇava leaders of Assam were rigidly opposed to all blood sacrifices as we find in the Bhakti movement in any part of India. Similarly Śaṅkaradeva, in many places of his writings, announces the fraternity of devotees and acceptibility of Sūdras and women to Bhakti cult. This is a common feature in any Bhakti movement in India. Bhakti movement goes beyond the frontiers of provinces and accepts universal norms as said earlier, here lies the soul of the Bhakti cult of all provinces. Assam's early history of Vaiṣṇava movement is a better proof in this direction.

In conclusion, the author emphatically says that the great Śaṅkaradeva Movement brought about a new and comprehensive outlook on life and distinctly healthy tone to social behaviour. Assam discovered herself as an integral part of the holy land of Bhāratavarṣa and gloried in that history. It must be admitted that the book is a worthy addition to the books on the early history of Vaiṣṇava Faith in Assam and that it provides a good material to study the cultural history of Assam.

In fact, the scholars of cultural history, do require such books on every region of India in order to find out how far there is unity in diversity which constitutes the very of soul of India, not to be found in any country. The language of the book is quite lucid and the book is neatly printed.

Since the book is a reprint in the year 1985, in the map of Koc-Behar, Kāmarūpa and Assam attached in the book, there should be no mention of ' East Pakistan ' but it should be shown as ' Bāngaladesh ' which came into existence in the year 1971. It is hoped that this mistake will be rectified in the next new edition. The edition is very useful as a reference book to Assam's cultural history of medieval age especially in the field of religion.

The special feature of the book is that the materials and sources used for the study are arranged properly and dealt with methodically in order to present the balanced view of the author on the subject of *Early History of Vaiṣṇava*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Faith and Movement in Assam. Prof. Maheshwar Neog deserves the thanks of the Scholars for his excellant work, now made available in a reprint form.

10, Snehawardhini,
off. Sonawala Building,
Goregaon (East),
Bombay-400 063.

P. M. UPADHYE

Dr. R. C. Hazra Commemoration Volume (Selected Articles of the Late Dr. R. C. Hazra) Part I (Purāṇic and Vedic Studies), published by All-India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi. First Edition, Price Rs. 150/-, pp. xii + 528.

Dr. R. C. Hazra (1905-1982 A.D.) is well-known for his rich contributions to the Purāṇic studies. " Next to Pargiter and kirfel one must mention the name of Prof. R. C. Hazra, who has bestowed much labour and thought on the Purāṇas in general and on individual Purāṇas. One cannot but feel high admiration of Prof. Hazra's industry, patience and enthusiasm ", as P. V Kane puts. (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V. Part II, BORI, Poona, 1962, p. 864). It is quite in the fitness of things that the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, has brought out this present " Volume ". One may note in this connection Dr. Hazra's association with the editional board of the "*Purāṇa*"-Bulletin published by the All-India Kashiraj Trust.

The " Volume " under review has a fine foreword by Dr. R. K. Sharma, giving a brief academic sketch of the late Dr. Hazra (pp. iii-iv), his personal history (pp. v-vii) (for a brief Life-sketch *vide* also the obituary note by the present reviewer in the *JOIB* Vol. XXXII, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec., 1982, pp. 189-190); a small List of abbreviations, (p. viii), contents (pp. ix-x) followed by 22 articles divided into two sections, : Section I containing 14 articles on Purāṇic studies (pp. 1-332) and Section II containing 8 articles on Vedic studies (pp. 335-509), which are followed by an index (pp. 511-528).

The articles included in this " Volume " are as under :—

Section I : Purāṇic Studies :

1. An aspect of Epic and Purāṇic Mythology.
2. The Aśvamedha, the common source of origin of the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahābhārata.
3. Did Vyāsa owe his origin to Berossus ?

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

4. Purāṇic Literature as known to Ballālasena.
5. Discovery of the genuine Āgneya-Purāṇa.
6. Studies in the Genuine Āgneya-Purāṇa *alias* Vahni-Purāṇa.
7. Text and Interpretation of a Verse of the Matsya-Purāṇa.
8. The Śiva-dharmottara.
9. Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa.
10. Gaṇeśa-worship and the Upapurāṇas dealing with it.
11. Did Vallālasen use the Liṅga-Purāṇa in his Dānasāgara ?
12. The problems relating to the Śiva-Purāṇa.
13. The Śivadharma.
14. Purāṇas in the history of Smṛti.

Section II : Vedic Studies :

1. Ṛgvedic Rudra : An extremely unsocial and non-cooperating god.
2. An overlooked aspect of Ṛgvedic Rudra.
3. The historical backgrounds of Maruts' (or Rudras') association with Indra and Rudra and of the Purāṇic story of their origin.
4. The Interpretation and history of two ancient Vedic *gāthās* and their social and political interest.
5. Interpretation and importance of the word *paśutṛpa* in Ṛgveda 7, 86. 5.
6. Interpretation and interest of a word and an expression of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
7. Was capital punishment of thieves unknown in the Ṛgvedic age ?
8. The professional jesters of the Vedic age.

The abovegoing brief survey of the contents of the " Volume " shows that the papers selected for this " Volume " deal with diverse topics/themes of the Vedic and Purāṇic literature and hence the editors deserve our hearty congratulations for their choice of papers for this " Volume ". As these are the published articles in several research-journal (, —it is happy to note that the original references to their publication are given in the footnote of the commencement page of the concerned article in this "Volume.,"–), it is deemed not necessary to comment on these learned articles. *Enpassant* it may be noted that some of the articles on Purāṇas are reviewed by P. V. Kane (*vide op. cit.*, pp. 864 ff). " Volumes " of this type serve a very useful purpose in the sense and way that the papers scattered in various journals, commemoration and *festschrift*-Volumes and other types of publications, some of which may not be easily available or accessible to young research scholars are made available to them easily and we, therefore end

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

with a word of commendation to the editors and publishers and look forward from them the publication of the succeeding volumes containing the remaining articles of the late Dr. R. C. Hazra.

Faculty of Arts,
M. S. University of Baroda,
Dt. 30 June, 1987.

S. G. KANTAWALA

Studies in the Pūrvamīmāṁsā by S. G. MOGHE, Ajant Publication, 1984, pp. i-xvi + 1-268, price Rs. 150/-.

This is a collection of articles by Dr. S. G. Moghe. The author wants to divide it into three parts for the sake of understanding the real perspective of the theme. The part I aims at discussing the influence of Pūrvamīmāṁsā on other systems of Indian Studies like Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa, Astrology, Purāṇa and Vedic Interpretation. Part II may concern particular authors, on Dharmaśāstra like Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, Śūlapāṇi, Mitramiśra, Kullūka, Nīlakaṇṭha and Haradatta. The aim of the second part is to determine the contribution of these authors and their place in the Dharmaśāstra. The third part aims at highlighting the contribution of modern scholars on Dharmaśāstra like MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, MM. Cinnasvāmi and MM. Vāsudeva Śāstri Abhyankar to the study of Pūrvamīmāṁsā. This is the frame-work of the arrangement of the articles of Dr. Moghe. Accordingly, he has included and arranged 22 articles. The author calls the first two categories of studies as Applied Mīmāṁsā. What he intends, perhaps, that various systems and authors have made use of Pūrvamīmāṁsā—principles while interpreting a text. It is a universally accepted fact and hence the author's assumption is correct. As a matter of fact all these studies as a whole want to demonstrate this very fact. Nobody can deny this fact that, whosoever he may be, Śaṅkarācārya or Abhyankar, if he is engaged in interpreting a text he cannot afford to ignore well-established science of interpretation in the form of Pūrvamīmāṁsā, already in existence before him. This tool was adopted by all whosoever was engaged in the task of interpreting that, even the Ālaṅkārikas.

The present studies provide a good amount of material to a reader. What one misses here badly is the discovery of the principles of interpretation. A deeper analysis was expected to focus the underlying principles of textual interpretation. I think the author might have kept it for his future work.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

I cannot resist myself in writing a line of caution. It is necessary to use the present book with caution. It will be advisable to refer to the original context. Otherwise, there is a chance of carrying wrong information. I say so because of the following.

Dr. Moghe writes on p. 5

" Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* III. 3.42 uses the principle of *Vākyabheda* for interpreting the line " *Yasya parṇamayi juhūr bhavati na sa pāpaṁ ślokam śṛṇoti* ". Śaṅkarācārya here points out to the *Pūrvapakṣin* that if it be admitted that the above sentence lays down two injunctions (*vidhis*). 1. Ladle is the shelter *of leaves* and 2. One who holds the ladle *made of leaves* does not incur sin, then it incurs a serious fault of *Vākyabheda* ".

Interpretation and argument apart, the understanding of the word *parṇamayī* as ' made of leaves ' is wrong and hence supplies wrong information. The word means ' made of the *parṇa*—wood (Butea Frondosa) '. Hence, the word of caution !

Dr. Moghe has tried his best to correct the misprints and has added a long list of Errata. But inspite of that many misprints have remained and it is not possible to list them all here. I am sure the author will remove them in the second print of this book.

University of Poona,
Pune-411 007

V. N. JHA

TĀRĀYAṆA : Edited by H. C. BHAYANI, Published by Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, 1987. pp. 8 + 18 + 80. Price : Rs. 20/-.

Tārāyaṇa (an assembly of stars) is an anthology of Bappabhatti Suri's Prakrit gāthās compiled by his contemporary Śankuka, with an anonymous Sanskrit commentary.

The text is based on the photo-copy of a single available manuscript from Bikaner which is undated but guessed as written not later than 1500 A.D. It is the one and only specimen of the Prakrit Muktaka poetry of its well-known author, whose respective years of birth and death are V.S. 800 and 895. Śankuka,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the compiler, was perhaps an intimate friend and admirer of the poet and he has admirably collected and arranged topic-wise the stray Gāthās of Bappabhatti who earned fame for his numerous stray verses and samasyā-pūrtis in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsha.

The manuscript of Tārāyaṇa is incomplete. Of its original 22 folios, Nos. 14, 15, 16 are missing, resulting in a gap in the text as well as the Sanskrit commentary. Of the 175 verses in the text, each verse-group of the poet is prefaced by the compiler, with his own verses, some of which give the key-words of the poet's verses in that group.

The missing portion of the manuscript may have contained about 20 verses of Bappabhatti and about half a dozen index verses of the compiler. Of the 175 verses of the text, nine introductory verses, 32 index verses (plus a few more in the missing portion), and one concluding verse are written by Śankuka, the compiler, who himself seems to be an adept in composing Prakrit Gāthās of literary excellence. Śankuka mentions several nicknames and epithets of Bappabhatti viz. गुणानुराग, भद्रकीर्ति, गजपति, आचार्य, श्वेतभिक्षु, वादिन् and महावादीन्द्र.

The topics of Bappabhatti's verses in Tārāyaṇa are Mangala, Poet, Good and Bad Persons, Cloud, Sky, Lightning, Rain, Lamp, Eulogy of the Patron King, Love, Good Men, Breasts, Eyes, Separation, Lotus Plant, Unchaste Woman, etc. 35 verses are devoted to Love and 24 are in praise of the patron King Āma or Nāgāvaloka of the Gurjar Pratihāra dynasty who was a friend of the poet.

The poetic powers of Bappabhatti are high-lighted in all his Prākrit Gāthās collected in the Tārāyaṇa. The outstanding figure of speech in the Gāthās is श्लेष. Besides, we come across several other Alaṅkāras like उपमा, रूपक, उत्प्रेक्षा, व्यतिरेक, अतिशयोक्ति, दृष्टान्त, विरोध, etc. Bappabhatti seems to be unique as a Prakrit poet in composing मुक्तक of high literary value. The Sanskrit commentary, though anonymous, suggests that its writer was a Jain. He gives very lucid renderings of all the words of the Prākrit verses and very neatly brings out the exact meaning and purport of each verse. Brevity and clarity are the two ruling traits of his style. Appropriate clarifications of double-meaning words and expressions are given by him and the figures of speech mentioned in the end. The importance of this Sanskrit commentary is self-evident as a number of Gāthās in the text can hardly be rightly understood without its aid.

The editor Dr. H. C. Bhayani, besides giving us an authentic text, has prefaced the work with an excellent exhaustive introduction, giving all details

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

about the manuscript, the poet's life and times, the compiler, the Sanskrit commentary, the subject-matter of the Gāthās, their style and literary merit. He has also given accurate English translations of all the Gāthās in a way that makes explicit many of the poetic qualities of the original verses. The alphabetical index of the Prakrit verses of Bappabhatti along with a glossary of select words given at the end furnishes the right finale to this scholastic edition of Tārāyaṇa.

Sonawala Bldg. No. 3,
C-Block, 4th Floor,
Tardeo, Bombay-400 007.

B. B. TRIVEDI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. *Renunciation in Hinduism : A Medieval Debate (Volume One and Two) :* by Patrick Olivelle, Pubd. by Institute fur Indologie, der Universitat Wien, Sannalung De Nobili, Druck Ernst, Becvar, A-1150 Wien, pp. 156 (Volume-I), pp. 193 (Volume-II), Price : Not mentioned.

2. *Tārāyaṇa (Tārāgaṇa) :* Ed. by H. C. Bhayani, Pubd. by the Secretary, Prakrit Text Society (L. D. Institute of Indology), Ahmedabad-380 009. pp. 8 + 18 + 80, Price : Rs. 20-00.

3. *Mahishasuramardini in Indian Art :* by Shantilal Nagar, Pubd. by Aditya Prakashan, 4829/1, Prahlad Lane, 24, Ansari Road, New Delhi-110 002, pp. xxii + 264 + 82 Picture Plates, Price : Rs. 450-00.

4. *Philosophy of Sādhanā in Jainism :* by PP. Sadhviji Jayadarshita Shriji, Pubd. by Mrs. Gangabai Narshi Dand, C/o. Shri Narshi Jethabhai Dand, Post Box No. 11, Malkapur (Buldana), Maharashtra-443 101, pp. xii + 282, Price : Sādhanā.

5. *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India, Vol. I :* Author and Pubd. by L. K. Tripathi, Professor and Head, Deptt. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University Varanasi-221 005, pp. xii + 352, Price : Rs. 140-00.

Publications of M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, 41-UA, Bunglow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110 007.

6. *Studies in Indian Literature and Philosophy :* Ed. by Ludo Rocher, pp. xxiv + 339, Price : Rs. 150-00.

7. *The Sants Studies in Devotional Tradition of India :* Ed. by Karine Schomer and W. H. McLead, pp. viii + 472, Price : Rs. 300.00.

8. *Nityasumangalī Devadasi Tradition in South India :* Ed. by Saskia C. Kersenboomstory, pp. xxii + 226, Price : Rs. 150-00.

9. *Philosophical Enquiries :* Ed. by Margaret Chatterjee, pp. x + 294, Price : Rs. 90-00 (Cloth), Rs. 60-00 (Paper).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

सोढुं शक्याः शात्रवा ये महान्तो दूरस्थाश्चेत् सन्निकृष्टो लघुर्न ।
सिंहव्याघ्रादिष्वनेकेषु सत्स्वप्याशेते ना मत्कुणेऽभ्यर्णगे न ॥ १५६ ॥

[1]योगोपराधिविधुना गुरोर्भवतिं मृत्युदो न चित्रमिदम् ।
मित्रेण च पुत्रेण च सूर्यस्य स मृत्युदोऽतिचित्रमिदम् ॥ १५७ ॥

कः कार्यः स्वर्गमिच्छद्भिः को दहेद्विपिनं बलात् ।
मृत्योर्घस्रः कथं कस्यांल्लोकः (कः स्याल्लोकः) स्वामी सदाशिवः ॥ १५८ ॥

सन्तोऽसन्तोऽपि महत्स्थले गताश्चेद्भवन्ति समशीलाः ।
यस्माद्भवभवनगताः खेटाः सर्वे भवन्ति समफलदाः ॥ १५९ ॥

निन्दन्तः सगुणं निर्गुणं तु वस्तु स्तुवन्त एते चेत् ।
वेदान्तिनो बुधास्तद्युक्तायुक्ताविदः कुतो न खलाः ॥ १६० ॥

[2]द्विजाधिराजवाहावतंसौ भूतिविभूषितौ ।
उमाकान्तमुमाकान्तिं भजे हरिहरौ सदा ॥ १६१ ॥

लक्ष्मीवतोऽस्ति हि जनस्य यथाऽतिलोभो
निःकिञ्चनस्य न जनस्य तथेति मन्ये ।
श्रीमान् हरिर्हरति भक्तजनस्य रिक्थं
दत्ते शिवो निज[3]पदादि दिगम्बरो यत् ॥ १६२ ॥[4]

[5]हरिरोहिताश्वनागर्क्षपतिशिवावृषमृगाजरामाद्यैः ।
जुष्टस्य शरभरूपिण ईशस्यार्हैव पशुपतिता ॥ १६३ ॥

यत्र तु स दानकाराढ्यो राजा देश उत्तमोऽयं स्यात् ।
तद्रहितराजयुक्तो निन्द्य इति च निगदते ह[र]येऽस्तु नमः ॥ १६४ ॥

कल्पद्रुमकल्पलताचिन्तामणिपारिजातसौभीयः ।
रत्नविराजी विबुधैः सेव्यश्च महान्स भाति हेमाद्रिः ॥ १६५ ॥

चेन्निर्देशः सर्ववर्णैः समानः क्लृप्तो रेफस्यैष कुप्येन्मध्वित्थम् ।
मत्वेवाहास्मासिफं सर्पराजो वर्णात्कारं का परेषां कथाऽत्र ॥ १६६ ॥

इति सुभाषितम् ।

---

१ C. omits vs. nos. 157-160. २ B. drops vs. no. 161. ३ C. हरि° for निज°. ४ C. has this col. इति सुभाषितम् after vs. no. 162. ५ C. omits vs. nos. 163-166.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

श्रुत्वा दैशिकशब्दं छात्राः श्वश्रूरवं स्नुषा यद्वत् ।
उद्विग्नाः स्युस्तद्वत् यात्रा भेरीरवं निशोपान्त्ये ॥ १६७ ॥

क्षणदा तुरीययामे गमसूची डिण्डिमादिनिध्वानः ।
पाटच्चरसाध्वसतोऽर्धनिद्रितान् कर्षतीव शय्यातः ॥ १६८ ॥

यदि कस्मिंश्चिद्दिवसे [1]द्वार्विंशे भोजनं भवेद्दण्डे ।
तर्हि धनुर्मासवदानन्दं यात्रिककदम्बकं लभते ॥ १६९ ॥

[2]पिष्टं च पिष्टलड्डून् शष्कुलिकादशमिकाः चिपिटकांश्च ।
भ्रष्टाभ्रष्टान् सक्तूनस्नाता अप्यदन्ति यमिनो न ॥ १७० ॥

दधिभक्तमनुपनीतानुपनीतानर्भकांश्च पैष्टमिह ।
दशमीति संज्ञमर्पयति लघून् दुग्धं च सङ्गमी सुकृती ॥ १७१ ॥

[3]मत्स्थानं नाकममी यास्यन्ति क्षेत्रतीर्थसुरसाधून् ।
दृष्ट्वेति धिया धूल्येक्षणानि झञ्झानिलो निमीलयति ॥ १७२ ॥

नित्यं यतिप्रदोषान् गृहिप्रदोषान् कदाचिदपि कुरुते ।
श्रीकाशीयात्रायां यात्रा सङ्कष्टिका अपि कदाचित् ॥ १७३ ॥

कदाप्यनूपे विपिने स्थलीषु ग्रामोपशल्येऽपि पुरे कदाचित् ।
कठोरसूर्यातपतापितासु क्षुधार्दिता वासमुपैति यात्रा ॥ १७४ ॥

आतप्ततप्ताः केचित् वृक्षाधो यान्ति पटगृहात् पक्तुम् ।
तिष्ठन्ति तत्र केचित् केचित् बध्नन्ति चन्द्रिकाः पुरतः ॥ १७५ ॥

अन्यदिनस्थितिपत्तनवक्तुः शब्दं निशामुखे श्रुत्वा ।
पूर्वा गोणीर्मध्ये निधाय परितोऽनिशं जनः शेते ॥ १७६ ॥

कार्पाटित्वमधृत्वा व्रजतामपि तद्दरिद्रमलिनत्वम् ।
नानायासजलस्थलनीवृन्मृद्वायुदस्युभिर्भवति ॥ १७७ ॥

नासीरादाचरमं यावन्मनुजैः स्थितेः पुरं पृष्टाः ।
सम्मुखमापतितजना अपि सद्वाचो भवन्त्यसद्वाचः ॥ १७८ ॥

उपवने फलिनावनतद्रुमे बहुवने पवने रणच्चले ।
भ्रमरगुञ्जितकोकिलकूजितध्वनित आस्थितिमेति कदाप्यसौ ॥ १७९ ॥

---

१ B. द्वार्विंशो for द्वार्विंशे. २ C. omits vs. no. 170. ३ C. omits vs. no. 172.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

[1]उत्तरितुं जाते सत्यतिकाले भवति नियमिपद्मस्य ।
पुनरपि काशीं नायामीति विरागः स्मशान इव ॥ १८० ॥
[2]देशोऽयमम्बुमान् यत्पुटभेदनवान् यथेतरः पुरवान् ।
इत्यनुमिनोति पानस्नानाद्यर्थं जलार्थिनी जनता ॥ १८१ ॥
[3]दधित[4]क्रपयांसि गोपिकाभ्यः पृथुकादीनि च [5]गृह्णतो वणिग्भ्यः ।
अतिदुःखकरी भवेन्न यात्रा नियमाचारवतां तु दुःखदेह ॥ १८२ ॥
सन्ध्यां विधाय केचित् स्वपन्ति, निद्रालवः स्तुवन्ति विधुम् ।
उदितं केचित् ब्रुवते व्यवहारपुराणशास्त्रगोष्टीश्च ॥ १८३ ॥

अथ चन्द्रवर्णनम् ।

पान्थस्त्रीमरणप्रदो जडजनिर्दोषाकरो यः[6] सदा
मित्रस्या[7]भ्युदये दधाति वपुषा वैवर्ण्यमिन्दुः क्षणात् ।
सोऽपीशानशिरो निवासमयते धत्ते द्विजाधीशतां
सोऽयं विष्णुपदाश्रयस्य महिमा प्रत्यक्षदृश्यो भुवि ॥ १८४ ॥
[8]तारारत्नैः शोभितायास्त्रियामासीमन्तिन्याः स्वर्धुनीहारयष्ट्याः ।
कोकस्तन्याः किंस्विदिन्दीवराक्ष्याश्चन्द्रो रौप्यं भाजनं कज्जलस्य ॥ १८५ ॥
यः स्वोपकर्तुर्विदधाति तेजसां हानिं क्षयी स्यात्स इति ब्रुवन् विधुः ।
जलस्वरूपो रविदीप्तिदीपितः कदाचिदर्कं स्थगयन्नभूत्क्षयी ॥ १८६ ॥
[9]एष शशी विरहाढ्यान् प्रतापयति तदितरांश्च शीतयति ।
इति यत्तदस्ति योग्यं[10] उष्माढ्यत्वादमुष्य शीतत्वात् ॥ १८७ ॥
द्विजपं वदन्तु [11]लक्ष्मणमन्ये नक्षत्रपतिमहं चन्द्रम् ।
राकामानन्दकरीं वदन्तु मन्येऽस्मितां तु विपरीताम् ॥ १८८ ॥
[12]घस्रे धर्मभियांमृतोदकनिधौ यन्मज्जितं राजतं
पाथोयन्त्रमयं सुधाकर इदं बद्धैः सितैः रशि(शि)भिः ।
आकृष्यात्र गचन्द्रिकामृतभरैः क्ष्मारण्यमेषास्वभा-
प्लाव्या जीवयति द्रुमोलपमुखं वस्तु द्विजेट् स्त्री निशा ॥ १८९ ॥

---

१ C. उत्तर्तुं for उत्तरितुं. २ C. omits vs. no. 181. ३ C. inserts this verse after vs. no. 183. ४ C. °दुग्ध° for °तक्र°. ५ C. गृह्णतां for गृह्णतो. ६ C. योऽसहन् for यः सदा. ७ C. °भ्युदयं for °भ्युदये ८ C. omits vs. no. 185. ९ C. omits vs. no. 187. १० B. notes शषसहा उष्माणः at the bottom. ११ B लक्ष्मण corr. in mar. as चन्द्र. १२ C. omits vs. no. 189.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

कति भूभा कति राहुर्ग्रसतीन्दुमिति ब्रुवन्तु मन्येऽहम् ।
विधुबिम्बस्थितगङ्गामाश्लिष्यत्येव जातु यमुनेति ॥ १९० ॥

उदयं नयं(नयन्) न रजनीनाथः किं तर्हि पूर्वगिरिसंस्थः ।
गुञ्जावीरुद्गुञ्जागुच्छो[1] नाङ्कोऽत्र संस्थिता भृङ्गाः ॥ १९१ ॥

द्विजराजोऽपि कलावानपि च यदा भवति वारुणीरक्तः ।
अह्नाय नाशमायातीति वदन्निन्दुरस्तमुपयाति ॥ १९२ ॥

विधुर्न चायं भगवान्सदाशिवो न चन्द्रिकेयं भसितावलेपनम् ।
नायं कलङ्को गरलं गले गतं नेमानि भान्यर्पितपुष्पराजयः ॥ १९३ ॥

लघुर्बलिष्ठेन निपीडितोऽनिशं चेत्सोऽपि तं जात्वपि पीडयेद्भृशम् ।
सूर्यः सदा निष्प्रभतां विधुं नयत्यसौ त्विनं जात्वखिलं ह्यदृश्यताम् ॥ १९४ ॥

उडुपे धवले तिष्ठन् [2]श्यामो विष्णुर्हि लाञ्छनच्छलतः ।
कर्कमकरमीनाचितपुष्करपारं सुखेन परियाति ॥ १९५ ॥

[3]यद्विप्रयुक्तमेवाशु स्वकरैर्मारयति न चैवान्यम् ।
तस्मादमृतकरोऽयं द्विजपो विधुरिति कथं वदन्ति बुधाः ॥ १९६ ॥

इति चन्द्रवर्णनम् ।

कानप्यस्मत्स्थलमित्युत्पाटयतोश्च[4] कीलकानपरे ।
कृत्वादौ वाक्कलहं यष्टीर्लोष्टान् प्रगृह्य धावन्ति ॥ १९७ ॥

काश्चिद्घोषा गोष्ठीर्धन्याः स्तोत्राणि का अपि वदन्ति ।
वन्यागताश्च भीता वन्येभ्योऽन्योन्यमाह्वयन्त्यन्याः ॥ १९८ ॥

चिञ्चारसैकशरणं भक्तं सूपैकशरणमिह पैष्टम् ।
अश्नन्ति दरिद्रजनाः श्रीमन्तस्त्वालये वनेऽपि समाः ॥ १९९ ॥

आर्द्राशुकाभिर्युवतीभिरेकः पाकं स्थितौ कारयते क्षुधावान् ।
आर्द्राम्बरोऽन्यः पचते स्वयं चेतरे क्षुधोऽदन्ति यथावकाशम् ॥ २०० ॥

शाकयुगं क(क)थिका च व्यञ्जनयुगमाप्यते च यद्दिवसे ।
स तु दीपावलिसदृशो नित्यं स्वोदरदरीभरणमात्रम् ॥ २०१ ॥

---

१ C. नाङ्कः तदीयमुखनैल्यं for नाङ्कोऽत्र.. ...भृङ्गाः २ C. श्रीमान् for श्यामो.
३ C. omits vs. no. 196. ४ C. स्व for श्व.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अन्धो जले च सूत्रे सिद्धमिति चमत्कृतिः प्रयाति इति ॥
केऽपि च वदन्तु मन्ये विपदः शाप्यत्र नैव भङ्गयति ॥ २०२ ॥
यावती शिविरभोजने स्पृहा क्षेत्रतीर्थसुरदर्शनेऽपि च ॥
यावती जनपदाटने स्पृहा दूरिता भवति सा तु यात्रया ॥ २०३ ॥
भुक्त्वा सत्यवकाये सिद्धिं वा याति जातु बुद्धिबलखेलम् ॥
द्यूतक्रीडां कोचिद् याति पराक्रीडनं च भुवेन्नि ॥ २०४ ॥

अथ बुद्धिबलादिलक्षणानि ॥

तत्र बुद्धिबललक्षणम् ॥

*बुद्धिबलक्रीडा तु द्विविधा सकला च विकला चेति ॥
सकलाऽप्यपि निहसने प्रथमान्या निहसनेऽबलस्यैव ॥ २०५ ॥
देहाद्भिन्नोऽप्यात्मा नित्यं देहाभिमानतो यद्वत् ॥
अनुभवति सुखं दुःखं तद्वत् काष्ठाभिमानतः क्रीडन् ॥ २०६ ॥
पुंसामेतत्संख्याः नृपमन्त्रिवाजिपत्तयः चैकम् ॥
षोडशसितं बले परमपि काष्ठादेर्भिन्नवर्णं स्यात् ॥ २०७ ॥
प्राक् प्रत्यगभिमुखा नवरेखाश्चावाग्उदङ्मुखाश्च नव ॥
तुल्यान्तराश्च कार्याः फलके भुवि वा पटे च धात्वादेः ॥ २०८ ॥
एवं च षड्क्तयोऽष्टौ सदनानामुभयतश्च तान्यपि तु ॥
अष्ट स्युः प्रतिपङ्क्ति स्यादेवं वेश्मनां चतुःषष्टिः ॥ २०९ ॥
कोणेषु पुष्पाणि ततो गृहद्वयं विहाय तिर्यक् सरलेषु वेश्मसु ॥
लेख्यानि पुष्पाणि तु तानि कोणगान्यपास्य लग्नानि परस्परं लिखेत् ॥ २१० ॥
अथ पटः स्यादमुमन्तराले संस्थाप्य तत्राभिमुखस्थिताभ्याम् ॥
निजेच्छयोरीकृतशत्रुताभ्यां स्वस्वाग्रतः स्वस्वचमूर्निवेश्या ॥ २११ ॥
दक्षिणकोणाद्रजहयकरभनृपतिमन्त्रिकरभहयकरिणः ॥
आवामकोणमव्यवहिताग्रपङ्क्तौ च पत्तयः स्थाप्याः ॥ २१२ ॥
पञ्चमन्दिराण्यपि विलङ्घ्य निजेच्छया वा
तिर्यक् क्रमेलक इभः सरलं च तद्वत् ॥
मन्त्र्येति कोऽपि यदि मध्यगतोऽस्ति तावत्—
पर्यन्तमेत्यभिमतं यदि हन्ति शत्रून् ॥ २१३ ॥

---

१ C. has the topic-ending इति यात्राव्यवहारादि after this verse.
२ C. omits vs. no. 204. * C. omits vs. nos. 205-440.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

यात्यश्वः सार्धद्व्यालयमेतत्पारिभाषिकं नृपतिः ।
मन्त्रिवदेकावसथं तथाश्ववच्चैकदैत्यविद्धश्चेत् ॥ २१४ ॥

पद्गास्तु यन्ति सम्मुखमेकगृहं क्रीडइ(यि)तुरभीष्टं चेत् ।
नृपमन्त्रीभपुरस्था गृहयुग्मं प्रथममेष्वचलितेषु ॥ २१५ ॥

शहस्तु वेधो रिपवो हि वेधका वेध्याः परेऽन्तः स्थितिरेतयोस्तु या ।
सेर्ष्या स्वसैन्यस्य वधो न कुक्षितोरपि द्विधात्रापजयस्तु भूपयोः ॥ २१६ ॥

पद्गा जीवन्तु न वा सचिवाद्यखिलाहतिस्तु **दुर्गाख्यः** ।
प्रथमोऽन्यो वेधे सति नृपतेस्तदवारणे तु **मृत्संज्ञः** ॥ २१७ ॥

[1]मन्त्रीभहयकरभपद्गा न्यूना उत्तरोत्तरं मृद्या ।
तत्तद्रचिता तत्तत्पूर्वाह्वा साधमोत्तरोत्तरजा ॥ २१८ ॥

मृत्तिका मन्त्रिहस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रपद्गैः पञ्चधा [2]सती ।
तत्तत् पूर्वाभिधाना चाधिका त्त(त)त्रोत्तरोत्तरा ॥ २१९ ॥

सर्वेभ्योऽपि पदातिर्मुख्योऽसौ यन्न पृष्ठ आयाति ।
तस्मात् तत्कृतमृत्सा नृपतेरत्यपजयावहा भवति ॥ २२० ॥

नृपोष्ट्राभ्यामेव राज्ञः प्रतिबन्धेन या भवेत् ।
पदातिमृत्सा तामाहुर्**हुचमल्ली** इति केचन ॥ २२१ ॥

प्रथमायाः क्रीडाया आरम्भो येन केनचित्कार्यः ।
अन्यस्यास्तु जयवता प्रायेणैकस्य विजय इह नियतः ॥ २२२ ॥

यत्ने कृतेऽपि भङ्गो न भवति चेत् तत्समत्वमस्मिंस्तु ।
कथमप्याधिक्याद्वा पूर्वजयाद्वादिवच्च वासौ स्यात् ॥ २२३ ॥

नृपतेर्मरणाभावेऽप्येतादृग्वेध एव मरणं स्यात् ।
नीचकृतो धिक्कारो मरणादप्यधिक एव महतां यत् ॥ २२४ ॥

अरिभिर्हन्तुं योग्यं सैन्यं भवतीति यत्स वेधोऽस्मात् ।
सर्वे रक्ष्या अथवा न वा नृपः पाल्य एव यत्नेन ॥ २२५ ॥

तद्रक्षणं त्रिधा स्यादविद्धगेहेषु नयनमरिहननम् ।
रिपुनिजसैनिकमध्ये स्वसैनिकस्थापनं चेति ॥ २२६ ॥

नृपमन्त्रीभोष्ट्रहयपद्गा यावद्गृहाणि तु ।
विध्यन्ति तत्प्रवक्ष्येऽहं चमत्काराय धीमताम् ॥ २२७ ॥

---

१ B. add. in lower mar. २ भवेत् corr. as सती in mar.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

मध्यस्थगृहचतुष्टयरूपं स्यान्मण्डलं पटे प्रथमं ।
तद्बाह्यं द्वाद्वशगृहमितं द्वितीयं तृतीयमपि तस्मात् ॥ २२८ ॥
बाह्यं विंशतिगृहमितमष्टाविंशतिगृहात्मकं चरमम् ।
मण्डलचतुष्टयेऽस्मिन्प्रतिमण्डलमष्टगृहविवृद्धिः स्यात् ॥ २२९ ॥
नृपतिस्तु चरममण्डलभिन्नगतोऽष्टौ गृहाणि विध्यति च ।
चरमे तु कोणसंस्थस्त्रीणि गृहाणीतरस्थितः पञ्च ॥ २३० ॥
चरमादिमण्डलचतुष्टयगतसचिवस्तु विध्यति गृहाणि ।
एकत्रिपञ्चसप्ताधिकविंशतिसङ्ख्यकान्यनुक्रमशः ॥ २३१ ॥
त्रयोदशैकादशरन्ध्रसप्तगृहाणि मध्यस्थितमण्डलादिषु ।
वितिष्ठमानः खलु मण्डलेषु चतुर्षु चोष्ट्रः क्रमशोऽभिविध्यति ॥ २३२ ॥
स्तम्बेरमो विद्यमानो मण्डलेषु चतुर्ष्वपि ।
चतुर्दशैव वेश्मानि विध्यत्यत्र न संशयः ॥ २३३ ॥
मध्यममण्डलयुगुले गतो हयोऽष्टौ गृहाणि विध्यति च ।
उपचरमे तत्कोणान् हित्वा षट्कोणगस्तु चत्वारि ॥ २३४ ॥
अन्तिममण्डलसंस्थो निजगजवासावपास्य चत्वारि ।
विध्यति गृहाणि निजगजवेश्मगतस्त्रीणि गृहयुगं क्रमशः ॥ २३५ ॥
चतुर्थमण्डलगतः पदातिस्त्वेकमन्दिरम् ।
विध्यतीतरवेश्मस्थो गृहयुग्ममिति स्थितम् ॥ २३६ ॥
हन्ति यथागति मन्त्रीभाश्वोष्ट्रं च न नृपोऽश्ववन्मात्रम् ।
तिर्यक्पत्तिश्च न कोऽपि नृपेर्ष्यामागतस्त्वयोग्यत्वात् ॥ २३७ ॥
यदीयपद्गाः कथमप्ययन्ते रिपुप्रधानेभहयोष्ट्रवेश्मसु ।
तस्य प्रधानादय उद्भवन्ति प्रागुक्तसङ्ख्यापरिपूर्तये पुनः ॥ २३८ ॥
उद्भवे चेन्न विद्धोऽश्वः स एवोड्डीयते तथा ।
क्रमेलकेनैकपङ्क्तिगतियोग्यः स नो भवेत् ॥ २३९ ॥
आदावेव त्रिचतुराश्चाल्याश्चादौ न घातनम् ।
एक एकगृहे स्थाप्योऽत्रानेके द्यूतवन्नहि ॥ २४० ॥
एकस्य चान्यैः कथनं परस्य
नो दोषोऽप्ययं स्यादसहायभूषणम् ।
अतोऽस्ति चेदस्तु निवेश्य सैनिकं
परावृतिस्तस्य महाग एव तत् ॥ २४१ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

क्रीडाधुरीणत्वहतिर्निवेश्य तत्
पश्चाद्गृहे किं पुनरन्यखेलने ।
पतिव्रतात्वं व्यभिचारतो व्रजेत्
किं वाच्यमस्मिन्सति गर्भधारणे ॥ २४२ ॥

किञ्चिन्निष्कास्य वेधो यो राज्ञे निष्कासवेधनम् ।
तदेव प्राकृते **काटशह** इत्युच्यते बुधैः ॥ २४३ ॥

मन्त्रीभोष्ट्रहयानां मत्तत्वं योग्यमेकशेषे स्यात् ।
कति विनिगमनाविरहात् बहुलान् मत्तान् हिताय कुर्वन्ति ॥ २४४ ॥

केचिद्वदन्ति राजा प्रथमत एवाश्ववत् व्रजति **केचित्** ।
पञ्चस्वपि शिष्टेषु क्रीडा **नान्ये** पदातिभिन्नेषु ॥ २४५ ॥

वेधयुगस्य ग्रहणाद्दानाद्वा नैव खेलननिरासः ।
कार्यो शक्तिद्योतक इति केऽपि वदन्तु तन्मतं न मम ॥ २४६ ॥

इत्यादीनि मतानि **पुण्डलिकाद्या** बुधा न मन्यन्ते ।
शास्त्राभावाल्लौकिकरीत्या निजकार्यसाधने सक्ताः ॥ २४७ ॥

युक्त्या स्वराज्यं भुवि राजनीतिवित्
संरक्ष्य राजा जयति स्वशात्रवान् ।
यथा तथा क्रीडयिता निजं बलं
संरक्ष्य युक्त्यारिनृपं जयेद्बुधः ॥ २४८ ॥

जुवुभट्टबाजिपन्तौ रामानुजपुण्डलिकजयरामाः ।
एतन्मतानि दृष्ट्वा लक्षणमेतन्मया कृतं सकलम् ॥ २४९ ॥

पञ्च वचं दिल्लीतः सादिन इह चागता इति न्यायात् ।
[1]ष्णु स्वं गणयत्याहो पुरि(रु)षिकया मुरारिपदजस्तु ॥ २५० ॥

इति सबलक्रीडालक्षणम् ।

अथ निर्बलक्रीडालक्षणम् ।

---

१ B. This line is rewritten after rubbing the original line with yellow pigment.

भागान्विधाय चतुरः पटगैककोणाढ्यान् षोडशोदवसितानिह कोणगाश्च ।
रेखा अथाश्वनयनं यदगारतस्तद्वेदम विलोक्य सह रेखमरेखकं वा ॥ १ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अखिला क्रीडा पूर्ववदेष विशेषस्तु निर्बलायां स्यात् ।
अबलस्यैव वधो यत् सबलस्य त्रिस्थलेऽपि भवति वधः ॥ २५१ ॥

यद्येकमेव तु बलं नृपतीर्ष्यास्थं तदा तदबलं स्यात् ।
यस्मान्नृपनाशभिया हन्तुमयोग्यं भवेदतो हननम् ॥ २५२ ॥

सत्स्वपि नानासैनिकबलेषु हननं तु काटशहतः स्यात् ।
मृत्प्राप्तावपि हननं भवेद्यतो राजरक्षणं मुख्यम् ॥ २५३ ॥

बहुलः कालो लगतीत्येषा क्रीडाल्पमनुजसेव्या स्यात् ।
प्रथमाह्नाय भवेदिति सर्वमतेत्यलमदो विचारेण ॥ २५४ ॥

इति बुद्धिबललक्षणम् ।

अथ द्यूतलक्षणम् ।

श्रीशिवनलधर्मनृपान् द्यूतक्रीडाविशारदान् नत्वा ।
कुर्वे द्यूतक्रीडालक्षणमवलोक्य लोकरीतिमहम् ॥ २५५ ॥

द्यूतक्रीडा तु त्रिधा स्यादुत्तमामध्यमाधमा ।
तत्रोभे पाशसहिते तृतीया सकपर्दिका ॥ २५६ ॥

स्मृत्यागमैराश्विनपौर्णमास्यां द्यूतं यदूर्जाद्यदिनेऽपि कीर्तितम् ।
तद्द्वैधमेतत् त्रिभिरेव पाशैः कुर्वन्ति शिष्टा अत उत्तमं हि तत् ॥ २५७ ॥

द्विजबालाद्याः पाशद्वयेन खेलन्त्यतस्तु तन्मध्यम् ।
क्रीडन्ति नीचशूद्राद्यास्तु कपर्दैरतोऽधमं तत्स्यात् ॥ २५८ ॥

तासामाद्यायां स्यात् पाशत्रयमैभदन्तजं रुचिरम् ।
चतुरस्रं सार्धाङ्गुलवितितं च षडङ्गुलं सुचक्राढ्यम् ॥ २५९ ॥

प्रतिपार्शं त्वेकभागे युग्मं युग्मं लिखेत् बुधः ।
आदिमध्यावसानेषु चक्राणामिति तानि षट् ॥ २६० ॥

नेयोऽश्वस्तत्समानान् नृपतिमितगृहांस्तावतश्चैतदन्यान् ।
भूयो भूयः परं त्वश्वनयनसदनं यत्र तद् भागगानि ।
चत्वार्योकांसि चादावपि तत इतरांशेषु तावन्मितानि
प्रत्येकं प्रापणीयोऽखिलगृहभरणान्तं यथाश्वेन बन्धः ॥ २ ॥

These verses are added in the upper margin without indicating their place of insertion.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

तदधस्त्वेकं चक्रं मध्येऽथान्यत्र मध्य एव युगम् ।
तदधस्त्वादावन्ते युगं युगं मध्य एकमिति पञ्च ॥ २६१ ॥

त्रिन्यूनाष्टादशतोधिका न सङ्ख्यात्र पाशनिक्षेपे ।
सति या तदूर्ध्वभागस्थितचक्राणां प्रजायते सङ्ख्या ॥ २६२ ॥

क्रीडा तया भवेत्सा तु द्वादशाष्टनवस्वपि ।
त्रयोदशस्वपि दृव्याह्वा स्यादन्यैकाभिधैव सा ॥ २६३ ॥

एकस्मिन् पाशे या पाशयुगे वा त्रिषु स्थिता सङ्ख्या ।
शार्यस्तयैव चाल्या न तु तच्छकलादिकल्पनया ॥ २६४ ॥

त्रयोदश द्वादशाष्ट नव तु द्विविधा मताः ।
अतो विंशतिधा त्वेषा सर्वा सङ्ख्या प्रजायते ॥ २६५ ॥

एषा सङ्ख्या **डाव** इति प्रोक्ता सांशत्रयात्मिका ।
शार्यो नेयाः क्रीडयित्रा चक्रसङ्ख्यामितान् गृहान् ॥ २६६ ॥

एकद्विपञ्चषड्भिर्न्यासा विंशतिविधापि सङ्ख्येह ।
विष्णुशिवद्विपवदनेन शक्तिभिरिवाष्टदशपुराणानि ॥ २६७ ॥

एकसङ्ख्यास्वरूपेण त्र्याद्याः संयोगजा मताः ।
षट्पञ्चाप्युभयात्मान एव सन्त्यत्र खेलने ॥ २६८ ॥

त्रिधैषा विंशतिविधसङ्ख्यास्वपि यथायथम् ।
येषु येषु स्थलेष्वस्ति तान्यत्र गणयाम्यहम् ॥ २६९ ॥

एको द्वौ दशसु स्तस्त्रयस्तु पञ्चसु तथैव चत्वारः ।
पञ्च स्वरूपतः स्युर्दशसु तथैकत्र योगजाः पञ्च ॥ २७० ॥

[1]दशसु स्वरूपतो षट् स्थलेषु पञ्चसु तु योगजास्ते स्युः ।
सप्तनवसु षट्स्वष्टौ सन्त्युभयत्रैव सन्ति नव ॥ २७१ ॥

इषुषु दशैकादश च द्वादशषट्स्विह भवेयुरुभयत्र ।
सन्ति त्रयोदशैकत्रैकत्रैव तु चतुर्दशाद्याः स्युः ॥ २७२ ॥

एष विचारः कतिफलमुरणाण्डे कति च काकदन्ताः स्युः ।
इतिवद्देवानां प्रियविषयोऽस्ति तथापि बुधमुदेऽकारि ॥ २७३ ॥

त्रिचतुर्नवदशसङ्ख्या प्रायो सुलभाऽत्र योगजाः पञ्च ।
एके षडप्यतस्तन्मितवेश्मनि रक्षणाय ता नेयाः ॥ २७४ ॥

---

१ Corr. in marg. for षट् तु दशसु स्वरूपान्

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

द्विगुणे प्रादेशतते करायते करमिताश्चतस्रश्च ।
प्रादेशमिता रेखा नव कार्याः शोभने तु पटखण्डे ॥ २७५ ॥

एवं च तिस्रः खलु पङ्क्तयः स्युः प्रत्यालि वेश्माष्टकमेव जायते ।
एवं चतुर्विंशतिमन्दिरः स्यात् खण्डस्तथा त्रीनितरान्प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ २७६ ॥

शारिमञ्जूषायितं च चतुष्कोणं महागृहम् ।
कृत्वैकं तच्चतुर्दिक्षु तानि खण्डानि कीलयेत् ॥ २७७ ॥

मञ्जूषामवधीकृत्य प्रतिखण्डं त्रिपङ्क्तिषु ।
पञ्चमे मन्दिरे षष्ठे पञ्चमेषु समालिखेत् ॥ २७८ ॥

एतद्वस्त्रविकारे शक्तः पटशब्द एष लाक्षणिकः ।
तदवयवेषु चतुर्ष्वपि गजवदनादौ गजादिशब्द इव ॥ २७९ ॥

स्वाग्रपटगमध्यालिप्रथमगृहात् वामभागतः कार्या ।
गृहगणनान्यत्रिपटगमध्यालिगमुनिगृहान्यपास्यात्र ॥ २८० ॥

एष पट[:] स्यादेनं मध्ये संस्थाप्य तत्र शारीश्च ।
उररीकृतशत्रुत्वावभिमुखगौ क्रीडतां नरावत्र ॥ २८१ ॥

श्यामा रक्ताः पीता हरिताः शार्यश्चतस्र [:] स्युः ।
स्थूलोन्नताश्चतुर्दशवर्षाकुचवत् सुवर्तुलाः कार्याः ॥ २८२ ॥

एकां द्वे वा तिस्रः समवर्णाश्चालयेच्चतस्रोऽत्र ।
मनुजः प्रतिडावे(वं) ता अग्रे नेया न पृष्ठ आनेयाः ॥ २८३ ॥

मञ्जूषातः षष्ठे सुमे युगं सप्तमे गृहे च युगम् ।
शारिचतुष्टयमित्थं समवर्णमपक्वसंज्ञकं स्वाग्रे ॥ २८४ ॥

स्वदक्षभागस्थपटादिपङ्क्तिगे स्थाप्यं युगं वेश्मनि सप्तमेऽष्टमे ।
युगं सवर्णं किल पक्वसंज्ञकं स्थाप्यं च शार्यष्टकमस्य तद्भवेत् ॥ २८५ ॥

इतरोऽप्यष्टौ शारीरित्थं संस्थाप्य खेलतु नरोऽत्र ।
असहाया म्रियत इह द्विपाशवन्न तु युगं युगेनापि ॥ २८६ ॥

युगचालनमूलं द्वित्रिसङ्ख्यांशैकरूपता ।
सांशत्रये चेत्त्रियुगं तदंशयुगले व्रजेत् ॥ २८७ ॥

युक्त्वैवं तदेकांशे वैति विभिद्यापि वा यथायोगम् ।
द्वियुगमपीत्थं याति च परं तु सङ्ख्याप्रपूर्तये भित्त्वा ॥ २८८ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

तद्युगं वेतरं वापि शारीं सञ्चालयेद्बुधः ।
अंशद्वयैकरूप्येऽपि द्वियुगं पूर्ववत् व्रजेत् ॥ २८९ ॥

सङ्ख्यांशत्रयभेदे युगभिन्नाः चालयेच्छारीः ।
ता अग्रिमपटमध्यगपङ्क्तिचरमगृहगता न हन्तव्याः ॥ २९० ॥

मध्यस्थपङ्क्तिगतसप्तगृहेषु नैव
नेया निजा यदि च ताः परिवृत्य वामम् ।
सर्वं पटं निजपुरोगगृहेषु तेषु
नेया न तत्र यदि काऽपि विभिन्नवर्णा ॥ २९१ ॥

द्वित्रिचतसृणां युगमिह समवर्णानां भवेदतल्लिविधम् ।
युगशब्दस्य तु वाच्यं युक्तो रूढ्याऽत्र नो युगुलमेव ॥ २९२ ॥

सङ्ख्यायाः प्रत्यंशे तिष्ठत्यथ वाऽग्रतो व्रजेत् स्थित्वा ।
शार्यत्र भिन्नवर्णा सा चेत् तद्गमनरोधिका भवति ॥ २९३ ॥

सारिश्चेत् हन्तव्या हननेच्छा चेदमित्रनिजयोर्वा ।
रोधकता न यथा स्यात्कार्या सति सम्भवे तथा क्रीडा ॥ २९४ ॥

मध्यालिप्रथमगृहान्नवमादिषु मन्दिरेषु मृतशार्यः ।
उज्जीवन्ति नवादिषु सङख्यास्वेवात्र नैव तूनासु ॥ २९५ ॥

उज्जीवनमपि रोधाभावे सत्येव जायते यावत् ।
उज्जीवनयत्नेऽपि न जीवनमन्याः चलन्ति नो तावत् ॥ २९६ ॥

पक्वाभ्यः क्रीडनारम्भोऽग्रे ता मध्यालिवेश्मसु ।
निष्कासिता[:] पक्वकेषु नेयास्ता निद्रिताः स्मृताः ॥ २९७ ॥

युगुलं वा युगमपि वा पिटके नेयं तृतीया न ।
केचित्तच्चालनमपि नेच्छन्तीहेयमुत्थितिस्तासाम् ॥ २९८ ॥

नोत्थितिरासां यावत् तावदपक्वाः प्रवेष्टुमायाताः ।
चेन्मध्यालौ पक्वाः सर्वा निष्कास्य ता नयत्वन्तः ॥ २९९ ॥

ता एवादावुत्थिता[:] स्युः पश्चात्त्वन्या बहिर्गताः ।
पूर्ववच्चेद्भवेत्तर्हि पूर्ववत् पुनराचरेत् ॥ ३०० ॥

चेदेतासूत्थं स्यात् युग्मं ते तर्हि नो बहिर्यातः ।
किन्तु तयोर्बहिरेका द्वे वा व्रजतः पिशाचसंज्ञे ते ॥ ३०१ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

तत्ता तु यावदुत्थानमन्यासां मध्यमावलौ ।
स्थितिर्यथा तथा नास्या[:] स्थितिरेषा निगद्यते ॥ ३०२ ॥

यस्यां सङ्ख्यायां सा स्वापक्त्वाधिष्ठितावलौ वान्तः ।
गच्छति तदव्यवहितोत्तरसङ्ख्यायां तदुत्थितिर्भाव्या ॥ ३०३ ॥

सा भवति काकतालीयवद्यदि तदा व्रजन्त्यपक्वास्ताः ।
अन्तर्न चेत्पिशाचो मुहुर्भ्रमत्यपजयो नियमितोऽस्मात ॥ ३०४ ॥

सर्वानुत्थितिरर्धानुत्थितिरित्थं भवेत द्विधापजयः ।
आद्यो **द्विरङ्गसंज्ञो** मुख्योऽन्यो बुद्धिबलवदिह नियतः ॥ ३०५ ॥

उत्थिता यस्य सर्वाश्च शार्यः स विजयी भवेत् ।
अन्यक्रीडारम्भणं चेत्स एवादौ करोति तत् ॥ ३०६ ॥

समवर्णचतुर्हननं वसुहननं वापि **दुर्गसंज्ञोऽपि** ।
भङ्गो द्विविधस्त[तः] तत्पूर्वस्तन्नात्र मन्वते बहवः ॥ ३०७ ॥

स्वाष्टमशार्युत्थानाव्यवहितडावे परस्य शारी तु ।
चेदष्टम्युत्था स्यात् तर्हि न भङ्गोऽस्ति किं तु सा समता ॥ ३०८ ॥

उज्जीवनपङ्क्तीतरपङ्क्तिगता मध्यपङ्क्तिगाश्चापि ।
उत्तिष्ठन्ति प्रथमे तार्तीयीकी चलेन्न वा चलति ॥ ३०९ ॥

अस्पृष्ट्वैव तृतीयां स्यादुत्थितिरिति मते प्रथमपक्षे ।
मध्यास्थैकयुतैतत्पङ्क्तिगतैवोत्थितिं लभते ॥ ३१० ॥

डावयुगे ता (एताः ?) स्थाप्या आशूत्थानाय सङ्कटे डावे ।
एकस्मिन् त[त्] त्रितये संस्थितिरासां सहस्रसंज्ञा स्यात् ॥ ३११ ॥

उज्जीवनावलिभिन्नावलिगास्तु चतस्र एकदा चेत् स्युः ।
पक्त्वा वापक्त्वा वा निद्रति तर्ह्येव कति वदन्तीत्थम् ॥ ३१२ ॥

एतन्मते तु यावन्मध्याल्यष्टमगृहस्थिता शारी ।
न म्रियतेऽन्यत्पूर्ववदेषा क्रीडा तु **रङ्गसंयि(ई)संज्ञा** ॥ ३१३ ॥

एकांशे द्विविधस्य यद्गतिरसौ न्यायो युगस्यात्र यत्
यानं स्याद्द्वियुगस्य भागयुगुले त्वन्याय एष स्फुटः ।
किं वाच्यं त्रियुगस्य यानमिति चेन्नात्रानयोऽसौ बुधा–
चाराद्वेदवचोबलान्नहि मखे हिंसान्यदा सा यथा ॥ ३१४ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

योंऽशद्वये द्वियुगचाला(ल)नमातनोति
सञ्चालयेत्त्रियुगमत्र सत्यनपाये ।
सक्तः करोत्यधिकपापमयं विवस्वान्
भुक्त्वा तु मीनमपि मेषवृषौ च भुङ्क्ते ॥ ३१५ ॥

एतत् द्यूतं चत्वारोऽपि क्रीडन्त्यसौ विशेषोऽत्र ।
द्वे द्वे विभिन्नवर्णे शारी मनुजैस्तु पूर्ववत्स्थाप्ये ॥ ३१६ ॥

अभिमुखगौ तु सहायावन्योन्यं स्तो रिपू भवत इतरौ ।
करलापनरिपुहननादिकं तु सर्वं द्विपाशवद्भवति ॥ ३१७ ॥

अस्य तु बहुप्रचाराभावादेतन्मयाऽपि न ज्ञातम् ।
एतत् द्यूतं त्वेतत् क्रीडा कतृ(र्तृ)भ्य एव जानीयात् ॥ ३१८ ॥

गुडाकिता बहिर्यानं त्रिधादौ कथितं द्विधा ।
तृतीयं तु रिपुं हत्वैव भवेद्रामबाणवत् ॥ ३१९ ॥

यथा भवेन्निजजयः परस्यापजयोऽपि च ।
तथात्र क्रीडितव्यं हि युक्त्या बुद्धिविशारदैः ॥ ३२० ॥

इति त्रिपाशद्यूतम् ।

[अथ द्विपाशद्यूतम् ।]

अन्यस्यां तु पटः शार्यः पाशयुग्मं च पूर्ववत् ।
सङ्ख्यायां खेलने क्रीडयितृष्वस्ति महाभिधा ॥ ३२१ ॥

आदाय चक्रपञ्चकयुक्ताक्षांशात्तु मध्यमं चक्रम् ।
एकं तदधोभागस्थितचक्रयुगे तु मेलनीयमतः ॥ ३२२ ॥

पञ्च स्युश्चत्वारि द्वे त्रीणि भवन्ति तदनुसारेण ।
द्वादशषडाद्यसप्तद्वीतरसङ्ख्याविपर्ययो भवति ॥ ३२३ ॥

पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति हि सूत्रात्सिद्धेऽप्यसिद्धता यद्वत् ।
तद्वच्छिष्टाचारादेकः पञ्चस्वसिद्धवद्भवति ॥ ३२४ ॥

गङ्गायमुनायोगेऽदृश्यामपि धातृजां तु शास्त्रबलात् ।
मत्वा यथा **त्रिवेणी**संज्ञा द्वौ तु त्रयस्तथाऽत्र स्युः ॥ ३२५ ॥

उद्दिष्टाख्ये प्रत्यये यद्वदेकयोगः शास्त्राज्जायते तद्वदत्र ।
शिष्टाचारदेकयोगेन तु द्वौ ग्राह्यौ त्रित्वेनेति नो दोषलेशः ॥ ३२६ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ज्ञेयाः पाशयुगस्थाः षट् पञ्चेह त्रयस्तु चत्वारः ।
इत्यन्योऽप्यहिकथिते शास्त्रे यद्वत् षडष्टपञ्चाद्याः ॥ ३२७ ॥

द्विन्यूना द्वादशतोऽधिका न सङ्ख्यात्र साऽपि दशधैव ।
तत्र षडाद्याश्चतुराद्या इति सप्तद्विधेतरा त्वेका ॥ ३२८ ॥

द्वादशषडाद्यसप्तद्वावन्वर्थे परेऽयथार्था [:] स्युः ।
युगडावाख्या द्वादशषट्द्वावष्ट स्युरक्षयुगसंस्थाः ॥ ३२९ ॥

यावद्युगडावपतनमक्षक्षेपः पुनः पुनस्तावत् ।
कार्यो युगचालनमपि सङ्ख्यैकांशे विधेयमेष्वेव ॥ ३३० ॥

व्याप्ता द्विभिन्ना सङ्ख्याऽत्र चतुर्भिः षड्भिरेव वा ।
ब्रह्मेतरद्यथा सर्वं प्रकृत्या पुरुषेण च ॥ ३३१ ॥

पञ्चाष्टनवस्वादौ पतितेष्वपजय इति ब्रुवन्ति कति ।
दशसु चतुर्षु जय[:] स्यादिति केचन तद्विदस्तु मन्यन्ते ॥ ३३२ ॥

अंशद्वययुक्सङ्ख्या प्रत्यंशमिते गृहे व्रजेच्छारी ।
तत्र स्वमित्रशार्यो घातायोग्या रिपोश्च ता[:] स्युश्चेत् ॥ ३३३ ॥

तर्हि प्रतिबन्ध[:] स्यात् द्वे एका वा व्रजेन्न तु तृतीया ।
एका निहन्ति चैकां युगं युगं नो विपर्ययस्त्वत्र ॥ ३३४ ॥

नियताश्च चत्वारोऽत्र क्रीडयितारोऽत्र सम्मुखौ मित्रे ।
साहाय्यकरे दक्षिणवामगतौ नाशकावरी भवतः ॥ ३३५ ॥

इच्छास्ति चेत्प्रतिपटं हस्ततयैकस्य पूरुषा अधिकाः ।
तिष्ठन्ति च प्रतिपटे(टं) शार्यस्तु चतस्र एव समवर्णाः ॥ ३३६ ॥

मध्यालिस्थे सप्तमे गेह एका षष्ठे चैका दक्षपङ्क्तिस्थपुष्पे ।
युग्मं चैवं स्वाग्रतो दक्षसंस्थाः शार्य [:] स्थाप्या यान्ति ता अग्र एव ॥ ३३७ ॥

निजशारिगत्युपज्ञे निजमित्रपटस्थिते गृहे प्रथमम् ।
निजशारियुगं कार्यं तस्मात् पूर्वं युगं न भवतीह ॥ ३३८ ॥

एतद्युगं न यावत्तावन्नेया न काऽपि मित्रपटे ।
निजशारी किन्तु युगस्थानावधि शारिचालनं कार्यम् ॥ ३३९ ॥

प्रथमत एव युगं चेत्तद्युगमरिरपि सुमस्थयुग्मेन ।
हतियोग्ये युगडावे पतिते सति हन्तुं चेदभीष्टं स्यात् ॥ ३४० ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

क्रीडारम्भे त्वादौ युगस्थितां चालयेन्नरः शारीम् ।
पश्चादन्यां पेट्यां नयनं तासां समुत्थितिस्तासाम् ॥ ३४१ ॥

युगडावेषु बहुष्वप्युत्तिष्ठत्यादिमेन युगमेतत् ।
यावन्न चलति तावत्तदवधियातो न चाग्रतस्त्वन्ये ॥ ३४२ ॥

यदैवोत्तिष्ठति युगं तदाप्यग्रे न ते इतः ।
किन्त्वग्रडावे यात्यग्रे शारी सा **हूलि**संज्ञिका ॥ ३४३ ॥

यस्मिन् डावे प्रयात्यग्रेऽसौ तदैव मृता यदि ।
पुनर्नेया पूर्ववच्चेत्पुनर्नेया पुनः पुनः ॥ ३४४ ॥

तदैव हूलिर्न मृता चेत्पक्वा तर्हि सा भवेत् ।
पक्वायां सर्वशारीणां निद्रायां योग्यता भवेत् ॥ ३४५ ॥

यस्मिन् डावे **हूलि**र्यात्यग्रेऽसौ तदैव निद्राढ्या ।
चेदपि तदैव पेट्यां न व्रजतीत्यपरचालनं कार्यम् ॥ ३४६ ॥

साऽपि तदैव युगाग्रे चेद्व्रजति तदैव सा हता चेस्यात् ।
हूलिर्गुडाकिताऽपि च मृता युगात्सा पुनर्बहि[:] नेया ॥ ३४७ ॥

कश्चित्तु तन्निहननेऽपि विनिद्रिता या
सा नो मृता भवति किन्तु गतेति वक्ति ।
हूलिर्यदा व्रजति युग्मपुरस्तदैव
सा निद्रिता न भवतीति वदन्ति **केचित्** ॥ ३४८ ॥

केचिद्वदन्ति सूनुर्नरके पापे न पतति चेत् पतति ।
यद्वत्पिता तथाऽसौ मृता भवति चेत् विनिद्रिताऽपि मृता ॥ ३४९ ॥

केचिद्वदन्ति कर्तैव लिप्यते न यथेतरः ।
तथास्य मरणेऽप्येषा म्रियते नैव निद्रिता ॥ ३५० ॥

मध्यालिसप्तमन्दिरवर्जितमखिलं पटं परिक्रम्य ।
निजपटगतमध्यालौ गमनं तासां तु कीर्तिता निद्रा ॥ ३५१ ॥

गुडाकितानां तु बहिः प्रयाणं
द्विधा भवेद्भूततयात्र चाद्यम् ।
हत्वैव शत्रुं भवति द्वितीयं
न त्वन्यथा किन्त्वभियान्ति पेट्याम् ॥ ३५२ ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Regd. No. 15007/67
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.